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THE

COMMENTARIES

OF THE GREAT

AFONSO DALBOQUERQUE,

SECOND VICEROY OF INDIA.

21 6

TRANSLATED FROM THE

PORTUGUESE EDITION OF 1774,

With Notes and an Introduction,

BY

WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A.,

A SENIOR ASSISTANT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM; HONORARY SECRETARY OF THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, ETC.

60959

VOL. IV.

"..Agora: pois que tendes apprendido
Trabalhos que vos fação ser acceitos
As eternas esposas, e fermosas
Que coroas vos tecem gloriosas:
Podeis vos embarcar; que tendes vento
E mar tranquillo para a patria amada."

CAM. *Lus.*, x, 142.

R. f. h. 48

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The Hakluyt Society.

THE COMMENTARIES OF THE GREAT AFONSO DALBOQUERQUE.

No. LXIX.

The Hakluyt Society.

REPORT FOR 1883.

SINCE the date of the last Report, the Society has had to lament the loss of several useful Members, among whom were Admiral Sir Richard Collinson, K.C.B., and Mr. Egerton Vernon Harcourt, both Members of our Council for several years, and Mr. William Spottiswoode, the President of the Royal Society.

Sir Richard Collinson, the third son of the Rev. John Collinson, Rector of Gateshead, was born in 1811, and entered the Navy in 1823. From the first, he chose the scientific branch of his profession, and was a most distinguished surveyor and Arctic navigator. When he retired from active service, his former labours naturally led him to take an interest in our work, and he joined the Society in 1864. He was a Member of the Hakluyt Society's Council from 1871 to 1880, and in 1867 he edited the three voyages of Sir Martin Frobisher for the Society. Sir Richard was also a hard-working Member of the Council of the Royal Geographical Society, and Vice-President, and was Deputy-Master of the Trinity House. He died on the 13th of September 1883, aged seventy-two.

Mr. Egerton Vernon Harcourt was the youngest son of the Archbishop of York, by Lady Anne Leveson Gower, sister of the first Duke of Sutherland. Born in 1803 he distinguished himself at Westminster School, obtained first-class honours, both classical and mathematical, at Oxford, and was called to the Bar at the Inner Temple in 1830. He was for many

years Registrar of the diocese of York, and gave munificent presents of thousands of pounds, on two occasions, for the benefit of the diocese. Mr. Egerton Harcourt was an intimate and very dear friend of our late President, Sir David Dundas, who induced him to join the Society in 1858. He always took a warm interest in our welfare, and served on our Council from 1870 to 1876. Mr. Egerton Harcourt lived at Whitwell Hall, near York, and took a very active part in all the useful work of the neighbourhood, where his place will not easily be filled. He died, at the age of eighty, on the 19th of October 1883.

The following volumes have been issued to Members during the years 1882 and 1883 :—

DIARY OF RICHARD COCKS, Cape-Merchant in the English Factory in Japan, 1615-1622, with Correspondence, edited by Edward Maunde Thompson. (*Two volumes.*)

THE HISTORY OF THE BERMUDAES, or Summer Islands, edited from a MS. in the Sloane Collection, British Museum, by General Sir J. Henry Lefroy, R.A., C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., formerly Governor of the Bermudas.

THE SECOND PART OF THE CHRONICLE OF PERU, by Pedro de Cieza de Leon, translated and edited, with Notes and an Introduction, by Clements R. Markham, C.B., F.R.S.

The following work has been completed by the editors, and is now in the printer's hands :—

VOYAGES OF JOHN HUIGEN VAN LINSCHOTEN to the East Indies, edited by Arthur Burnell, Esq., Ph.D., C.I.E., and M. Thiele of Utrecht.

In consequence of the lamented death of Mr. Burnell, it became necessary to find another editor; and M. Thiele of Utrecht undertook to finish the work which was commenced by Mr. Burnell.

Several other works have been undertaken by editors, but they are not at present in a very forward state. Among them are "The Travels of Ibn Jobair"; "The Journal of

the Pilot Gallego," translated and edited by W. A. Tyssen Amherst, Esq.; and "The Maldive Islands", by Pyrard della Val, to be edited by Mr. Albert Gray.

The following three Members retire from the Council:—

J. Barrow, Esq., F.R.S.
Captain Hankey, R.N.
J. Wise, Esq., M.D.,

and the following gentlemen are proposed for election:—

Sir Charles Nicholson, Bart.
Admiral Ryder.
Sir Barrow Ellis, K.C.S.I.

The expenditure during the years 1882-83 has been £684 4*s.* 6*d.*, and the receipts £687 2*s.* 9*d.* The present balance at the bankers, after all bills have been paid, is £456 7*s.* 8*d.* There are now 245 subscribers.

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INTRODUCTION.

Olhai que ledos vão por varias vias,
Quaes rompentes leoens, e bravos touros,
Dando os corpos a fomes, e vigias,
A ferro, a fogo, a settas, e pilouros,
A quentes regioens, a plagas frias,
A golpes de idolatras, e de Mouros,
A perigos incognitos do mundo,
A naufragios, a peixes, ao profundo.

CAM. *Lus.*, x, 147.

THE present volume contains the translation of the Fourth and last Part of the COMMENTARIES OF THE GREAT AFONSO DALBOQUERQUE, as written by his son. The interest in the career of the hero is sustained throughout, and a short summary of the principal events recorded herein may with propriety be introduced at this part of the work. The portrait which is placed as a frontispiece to this volume is a reduced photographic facsimile from that given in Correa's *Lendas da India*, at the place which treats of that period in the history of Portuguese India when the Lusitanian sceptre was practically swayed there by this great man. Its value as a contemporary portrait is undoubtedly great, and it may be compared with the portraits derived from other sources which have illustrated the previous volumes of this translation.

After setting affairs in order at Goa, under the chief captaincy of Pero Mascarenhas, Afonso Dalboquerque

set sail on the 7th of February, A.D. 1513, with a body of seventeen hundred Portuguese and eight hundred natives, in twenty ships, intending, in accordance with instructions which he had received from the King of Portugal, to make the voyage to Adem, with a view of capturing that site, of the importance of which, from a military and strategic point of view, he was fully aware. The passage to Socotra was made without difficulty; and while lying off the island a native vessel from Chaul was captured and forced to accompany the fleet, to prevent it carrying news of the presence of a powerful Portuguese force in Arabian waters. On the way differences of opinion as to the best manner of proceeding in the contemplated attack arose among the leaders. One party thought that negotiations should be entered into with the rulers of Adem before the attack was made; the other —and among these was Afonso Dalboquerque—considered that an immediate endeavour to gain possession of the city should be made. This was finally agreed upon. Sighting Abedalcuria, the fleet coasted along until near Meyet Island, and crossing the mouth of the Red Sea Straits, came up in sight of Adem at sunset, and avoiding a ruse artfully planned for the destruction of the ships, then proceeded to work in to the harbour. Communications were opened with Mira Merjão, governor of the city, but this man was not slow to discover the real intentions of Afonso Dalboquerque, although they were at first veiled under the pretext of an expedition to Suez. The next day, Easter Eve, preparations were

made to storm the city, and some large boats of very small draught of water were seized, with a view of disembarking the men as expeditiously as possible.

At this point the author gives a long and interesting account of the situation of the city of Adem; and the view of Adem, as it appeared to Correa at the time when the attack was being made, will be found useful for comparison with a view of the same exploit, published from the original contemporary woodcut in the British Museum, by Col. H. Yule, C.B., our President, in his 2nd edition of the *Travels of Marco Polo*.[1]

The first attack upon the city, which is graphically described in chapter iii, appears to have failed, principally on account of the defective scaling-ladders then employed in the assault. It resulted in the Portuguese withdrawing their forces from off the city walls, upon which some of the more adventurous had

[1] The great reduction in scale which has been made in that view prevents the reader from making out some part of the inscription in the upper right-hand corner. It is as follows:—

"¶ Dese machteghe eñ grote stat Adē genoemt die gelege is int conīcrijc vā Persē in den wech vā mecha was bestormt eñ beuochtē vā Alfonso Dalburkerke capitein generael van dē hogē eñ machtegē edelē conīc vā portegael heer Emanuel mz drieduist vijfhōdert volcx die welke vochtē drie vrē lāc tsegē die ī de stat warē, dese bataelge gesciede up dē heiligē paeschauōt int iaer ōs heerē ih'u cristi als mē screef. M. CCCCC. XIIJ. Eñ als dese edele eñ wel gemoedde capitein mz sinē volcke ald warē vechtēde tsegē die ongelouige hondē eñ viandē ons heerē ih'u cristi wies den hoop der morē so seere ī grotē getale die binnē der stat warē dat dese edele capeteyn mz sinē volke moeste vliē tsinē scepē waert mz groter last eñ forcē al vechtēde eñ dootslaēde seer veel vā diē moren, die hem ooc groot scade dedē onder sijn volc als elckerstē mensche wel beclaghen mach."—Vol. ii, p. 438.

mounted, to the ships again, after losing, among others, Jorge da Silveira, one of the captains, and Garcia de Sousa, another, the details of whose gallant fate are related more particularly at length. As the Portuguese retired, Mira Merjão endeavoured, from his position on the island of Cira, to harass them, and did so for a time; but Dom Garcia de Noronha assaulted the tower on the island, and drove out the native forces. Shortly after this escalade, Afonso Dalboquerque received intelligence of a revolt at Cairo, the fears of the Sultan at the rumoured entry of the Portuguese into the Red Sea, and the doings of the Xeque Ismael.

Sending forward the small ship of Chaul, lately captured by João Gomez, the Portuguese commander set sail for the Straits of the Red Sea, and quickly sighted the large, lofty, and apparently barren island of Jebel-Zukur, and put in to a port on the Abyssinian side of the Red Sea, where he found some Arabs collecting slaves. These he rescued, and punished their captors in the customary barbarous manner then so frequently practised in that part of the world.

Here follows a chapter devoted to a description of the shores, winds, tides, and currents of the Red Sea, probably useful in the highest degree at the time when it was written, to those whose navigation led them into those treacherous waters. In the middle of this digression the author records two unaccomplished resolves of Afonso Dalboquerque—the diverting of the River Nile from Cairo, by piercing a range of hills, so as to throw the water into the land of Prester John; and,

secondly, the landing of a small body of horsemen on the Arab coast, so as by making a dash to get possession of the body of Mahomet.

Proceeding up the Red Sea, the Portuguese fleet stood off Luya, or Loheyyah Bay, where the flag-ship grounded, but after great exertion was fortunately floated off uninjured. The next day the fleet made its way in safety to Camarão, intending to proceed to Judá, or Djiddah, but the wind proved adverse; and during the forced delay a miraculous cross—an illustration of which is given from the Portuguese text—was seen in the heavens, not only by Afonso Dalboquerque, but by all who accompanied him. After a stay of two months—June and July, 1513—at Camarão, he weighed anchor and proceeded to Ras-Zebid, a watering-place on the Arabian coast, with the intention of inquiring after certain Portuguese captives wrecked in a brigantine commanded by Gregorio da Quadra. João Gomez, who had been sent to reconnoitre the pearl-fishery on the islands of Dalaca, or Dahalak, returned with unfavourable news of the refusal of the natives to trade with the Portuguese.

At this time Afonso Dalboquerque despatched a messenger overland, by way of Cairo, to the King of Portugal, carrying news of the doings of the Portuguese in India; and on the very day after the messenger set out, a miraculous ray of light, probably a shooting star or electric ball, fell down from the sky, to the dismay of the fleet and the terror of the natives.

The author of these *Commentaries* here introduces

a relation of the wanderings of Gregorio da Quadra, whose vessel, a brigantine, in the fleet commanded by Duarte de Lemos, had broken away from her anchorage on a dark and stormy night off the coast of Melinde, the whole crew being taken prisoners next morning, opposite Adem, by the natives. The ruler of Adem appears to have been content to keep them in captivity, without exercising the cruel tortures upon them so frequently inflicted upon Europeans whose misfortune placed them in the power of Oriental princes at that time; and Gregorio da Quadra, becoming in course of time proficient in Arabic, made a stealthy visit to Medina, inspected the sépulchre of Mahomet, and after nearly perishing in the inhospitable deserts of Persia, finally reached Busrah, or Baçora, where he embarked for Ormuz, and there D. Garcia de Coutinho, the captain of the fortress, received him with great kindness. The wanderer at length returned to Lisbon, and became a Capuchin friar.

Leaving Camarão on the 15th July, A.D. 1513, the Portuguese commander explored the Island of Perim, in the Red Sea Straits, to which he gave the name of *Ilha da Vera Cruz*, and sending two vessels forward to Zeila—an expedition which bore no fruit, on account of the refusal of the natives to have any communication with the Portuguese—bore up opposite Adem, and lost no time in skirmishing with the natives, burning the shipping on the shore, and exchanging shots with forces in the towers along the beach. On the 4th of August 1513, Afonso Dalboquerque weighed anchor—abandoning for the time all further attempt

to effect an entry into Adem—and ran in to Diu, where the native authorities received him with an apparent friendliness, which did not, however, deceive the Portuguese commander. From that point the voyage was continued to Chaul, whither Tristão Dega had just returned from his mission to Cambay. Setting forward again, he stopped for a short time at Dabul, where three ships under Lopo Vaz de Sampayo were left to blockade the port in order to compel the surrender of several native ships, which had left Calicut with produce against the commands of the Portuguese. By this and similar means every one of the native vessels that had left Calicut for the Straits fell into the hands of Afonso Dalboquerque, who at length reached Goa, where he was received with great joy by everyone.

Francisco Nogueira, who had been commissioned to build the Portuguese fortress at Calicut, about this time gave the commander an account of the abortive circumstances attending the building. I have been able to reproduce at p. 72 a contemporary view of the fortress from Correa's *Lendas da India* bearing the following inscription :—

" O . Rey . de . Caleqvv . cõ . temor . qve . os . nossos . tomariã . dele . vingança . da . morte . do . marichal . cõ . mvitos . rogos . Afonso . Dalboqverqve . lhe . asentov . paz . fazendo . esta . forteleza . a . sva . cvsta . qve . esteve . em . mvita . paz . ate . o . ano . de . 1525 . qve . dõ . Joam . de . Lima . sendo . capitam . alevãtov . gera . e . se . desfez . . forteleza . em . tenpo . do . governador . dom . anri-.ve . de . meneses ."

The Portuguese commander was, however, determined to bring this important matter of establishing a powerful fortress on the West Coast of India to a successful issue, and sent forward his nephew, D. Garcia de Noronha, to Calicut, to interview the Çamorim, while he himself proceeded to Cochim, and after a stormy interview with the king, which showed him how little advantage he was likely to gain by negotiations, despatched secret instructions to a brother of the Çamorim of Calicut, advising him to poison the ruler, his brother, with a view to succeeding to his power. This was effected, and the new Çamorim, owing his elevation to the Portuguese (whose influence in this proceeding admits of no palliation), showed his gratitude by conceding a site for the Portuguese fortress, which was immediately commenced, in a position which commanded the entry into the port. This fortress, invaluable as it was in all respects to a nation whose policy was to hold the coast by means of superior military organisation, was not long destined to stand, for it was destroyed in 1525, by order of D. Anrique de Menezes, the governor, to prevent it falling into the hands of the natives.

Having thus carried out successfully an undertaking calculated to overawe the races on the coast of central India, Afonso Dalboquerque sailed away to Cananor, where he received news of the unsettled state of Cairo, Suez, the Red Sea, and the coast of Arabia and Northern India. Hereupon, Pero Dalboquerque was despatched to Cape Guardafum and Adem, to acquire more precise information of the proceedings of the

Turks, who were reported to be organising an attack upon the Portuguese in India.

In December 1513, Afonso Dalboquerque sailed to Cochim, and sent Miguel Ferreira to the Xeque Ismael by way of Dabul; and, after making provision for refitting the Portuguese fleet, proceeded to Goa, whither he arrived in the beginning of January 1514. Miguel Ferreira arrived at Tauriz, and eventually reached the Xeque, who received him well, and sent him back with costly presents for Afonso Dalboquerque, and with a good impression of the Court of that potentate. The calamitous condition of the Portuguese at Malaca, reported to Afonso Dalboquerque at Goa by Manuel Fragoso, the Portuguese envoy to the Court of Siam, demanded immediate succour, which was at once sent, and arrived out just in time to reinforce the fort. The little garrison was in hourly expectation of attack by a large fleet of ninety junks, carrying 10,000 men, that arrived off the fortress a few days later; but, overawed by the three large Portuguese vessels that lay off the shore, the enemy drew off, and suffered considerable loss at the hands of Fernão Perez Dandrade, who fell upon them as they fled. To the Court of Cambay, Diogo Fernandez de Béja and James Teixeira were sent, with instructions to obtain a site for a fortress in Diu. This expedition, which, like the others, was unsuccessful, is related at considerable length in the *Commentaries*.

Pero Dalboquerque, in pursuance of the instructions he had received, cruized about off Socotra for the summer, and at the end of May bore away for Ormuz,

where he was visited by the king, and after in vain attempting to recover possession of the fortress by negotiations, landed some merchandise under charge of two factors, and sailed into the Persian Gulf in July, explored it as far as Barem Island, returned to Ormuz on the home voyage (to India) in August. His endeavours to obtain the payment of tribute by the king were ineffectual; he therefore sailed away, after embarking his factors and merchandise, and reached Goa on the 28th of September 1514.

The account of the condition of Ormuz which Pero Dalboquerque was enabled to lay before his uncle Afonso Dalboquerque, incited the Portuguese commander to make his way thither with a fleet without losing any time; and after receiving visits of diplomatic importance from the ambassadors of the King of Narsinga, who desired to enter into an alliance with the Portuguese to attack the Hidalcão (a matter put off for the time by Afonso Dalboquerque), and from the Hidalcão on his own behalf, who was desirous of maintaining peaceful relations with the Portuguese, he summoned Jorge Dalboquerque from Cochim, and sent him on to Malaca with four vessels and two hundred men, to relieve that distant colony. Thus, intending to winter at Ormuz, four galleys were to be built and sent on to him at that port, with a view to their taking part in the intended expedition, during the ensuing summer, to Adem and the Red Sea Straits.

On the 25th of February 1515, a council was held at Goa by the captains of the twenty-six vessels composing the Portuguese fleet, having on board fifteen

hundred Portuguese and seven hundred Malabarese. At this meeting Afonso Dalboquerque unfolded the Portuguese policy, and, after some opposition on the part of the captains, it was decided to sail to Ormuz and establish themselves in that city. On Ash Wednesday, the 21st of February, the fleet sailed out of Goa harbour, and on the 25th of March drew up opposite Curiate, on the Arabian side of the Gulf, and proceeding along the coast, anchored off Mascate, where news was obtained of the condition of the city of Ormuz, the king of which had been virtually a prisoner for the last two months in the hands of Reys Hamed, a Persian Moor.

Sailing away in a direct course, the Portuguese fleet arrived safely opposite Ormuz, where Miguel Ferreira, on his return from the embassy to the Xeque Ismael, rejoined the ships and gave Afonso Dalboquerque a detailed account of his journey. The intrigue of Reys Hamed, which appeared likely to become successful, was more than counterbalanced by the astuteness of the Portuguese governor-general, who brought about the deliverance of the king and his chief councillor Rexnordim, or Reys Nordim, by the assassination of the rebellious Reys Hamed, to whom the success of the Portuguese in getting possession of the fortress of Ormuz, on the 31st March, or 1st April, 1515, was especially galling, as interfering with his intention of usurping the royal authority in that city.

The reception of the ambassador from the Xeque Ismael in Ormuz was conducted by Afonso Dalboquerque with great pomp and magnificent ceremonies,

which delighted the Oriental mind, to which such things are dear; and it was no doubt calculated to impress upon the king and the inhabitants of Ormuz the importance of the Portuguese influence in that part of the world. The author of the *Commentaries* gives a long and detailed description of these proceedings. The disarming of the inhabitants of Ormuz, and the prompt seizure of an opportunity which arose for getting possession of the enemy's artillery, were master-strokes of policy, and tended effectually towards the preservation of that territory in Portuguese hands. The inhuman treatment of the runaway Portuguese, who were burned in a boat in the principal square of Ormuz, cannot be defended. It is a typical instance of Oriental cruelty—and other instances will be met with by the reader of these *Commentaries* —probably instigated in this case by the desire on the part of Afonso Dalboquerque to make a terrible example of those who proved traitors at a time when the utmost peril would have been brought upon the whole body if any serious defection had arisen. The settlement of affairs at Ormuz; the despatching of Fernão Gomez de Lemos to the Court of the Xeque Ismael with terms of a treaty; the departure of D. Garcia de Noronha for Portugal; the reception of several native envoys; and the building of the Portuguese fortress, are among the most notable events successively chronicled in these *Commentaries* immediately previous to the supervention of the illness to which the great commander succumbed. Appointing Nicoláo Ferreira to keep guard

over the King of Ormuz, and Pero Dalboquerque, his nephew, to be governor of the newly erected fortress, Afonso Dalboquerque sailed away, dangerously ill, in the *Flor da Rosa*, captained by Diogo Fernandez de Béja, on the 8th of November 1515. The disorder with which he was afflicted was aggravated by the report which reached him of the appointment of Lopo Soarez de Albergaria in his stead by the King of Portugal. On Sunday, the 16th of December, he died on shipboard at anchor off the bar of Goa, to the extreme grief of the inhabitants of Goa, who, indeed, owed their all to his bravery and forethought. The work ends appropriately with an account of the funeral obsequies; the text of the king's letter to Lopo Soarez, limiting that governor's powers in India, and continuing Afonso Dalboquerque in his office, with the exception of the fortresses of Cochim, Calicut, and Malaca, which were placed under Lopo Soarez absolutely; a well-written panegyric upon the character and achievements of the dead hero, including a review of the condition of India at the time of his death; an account of the circumstances attending the translation of the remains of Afonso Dalboquerque to the Chapel of Our Lady of Grace, at Lisbon, in April, and their final sepulture in May 1566; and a summary of the pedigree of the family, derived from Dom Dinis, King of Portugal, and Dom Sancho, King of Castile.

The Appendix will be found to contain some important information of little known Portuguese-Indian places and fortresses, as well as other matters relating to the text of the *Commentaries*.

The Index which has been compiled for the four volumes will be found useful as containing a variety of references not usually, perhaps, placed in an Index. The references to names of persons are under the Christian name or first name—a plan laudably adopted by many authors, and notably so by Barbosa Machado in his *Bibliotheca Lusitana.*

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10.	Prepares to attack Adem	Easter Eve [26 March 1513]
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114.	Pero Dalboquerque sails to explore the Red Sea	7 July 1514
115.	Pero Dalboquerque returns to Ormuz .	6 Aug. 1514
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200. Letter from the King of Portugal to Lopo Soarez . . . . . 20 March 1516

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211. Their burial . . . . . 19 May 1566

COMMENTARIES

OF THE

GREAT AFONSO DALBOQUERQUE.

VOL. IV.

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COMMENTARIES

OF THE GREAT

AFONSO DALBOQUERQUE,

WHO WAS

CAPTAIN-GENERAL OF THE EAST INDIES

IN THE TIME OF THE VERY POWERFUL

KING D. MANUEL,

THE FIRST OF THIS NAME

PART IV.

LISBON:
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WHEREIN IS CONTAINED HOW THE GREAT AFONSO DALBOQUERQUE ENTERED THE STRAITS OF THE RED SEA, AND WHAT PASSED AFTER HIS RETURN TO INDIA, AND WHAT HE DID IN THE SECOND TAKING OF THE KINGDOM OF ORMUZ, AND HOW HE DIED, AND WHOSE SON HE WAS.

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AFOSO·DALBOQVERQVE

PART IV.

WHEREIN IS CONTAINED HOW THE GREAT AFONSO DALBOQUERQUE ENTERED THE STRAITS OF THE RED SEA, AND WHAT PASSED AFTER HIS RETURN TO INDIA, AND WHAT HE DID IN THE SECOND TAKING OF THE KINGDOM OF ORMUZ, AND HOW HE DIED, AND WHOSE SON HE WAS.

CHAPTER I.

How, after making his fleet ready, he took counsel with his captains and pilots respecting the voyage: and how it was determined to enter the straits of the Red Sea, and what passed in the course until they reached Adem.

After the great Afonso Dalboquerque had agreed with the Captains and Fidalgoes of India concerning the affairs of Goa, and had writtten to the King D. Manuel explaining his opinions in that matter, he sent Jorge Dalboquerque, as Captain, to Cochim; for Pero Mascarenhas, who at this time held that office, was to remain in Goa as Captain, as I have related; and when this had been arranged he proceeded to embark on the seventh of February, in the year [fifteen hundred and] thirteen, and ordered the captains and men to assemble in their ships, to the number of about one thousand seven hundred Portuguese and eight hundred Malabars and Canarese in all.

And after that all had embarked, the whole fleet being now outside the bar of Goa, before sails were set he caused

all the captains to be summoned to a meeting. These were:—

D. Garcia de Noronha,
Pero Dalboquerque,
Lopo Vaz de Sampaio,
Garcia de Sousa,
D. João de Sá,
Jorge da Silveira,
D. João de Lima,
Manuel de Lacerda,
Diogo Fernandez de Bejá, Captain of Afonso Dalboquerque's ship
Simão Dandrade,
Aires da Silva,
Duarte de Mélo,
Gonçalo Pereira,
Fernão Gomez de Lemos,
Pero de Afonseca de Castro,
Ruy Galvão,
Jeronymo de Sousa,
Simão Velho,
Antonio Raposo, and
João Gomez, Captain of the caravela.

And when they had all assembled together he declared to them that the King D. Manuel, his lord, in every letter which he had written, made it a very great point that he should endeavour to capture Adem and make his way into the straits of the Red Sea; and that now, in letters brought by D. Garcia, his nephew, there present among them, this matter was still further insisted upon; but for some proper precautions which he had taken, he had as yet given them no explanation of his determination, as well also because now that the course of their proceedings had been arranged and decided by His Highness, it was no part of their duty

to put to the vote whether they should act upon their orders or not, unless it should so happen that so much opposition should be shown to the orders that he would be compelled to adopt another plan. Therefore, he would beg them of their goodness if they had any objections to urge, to the end that it would not be to the service of the King to undertake the proposed expedition, to state them to him. And after much debate had ensued, it was unanimously agreed that Afonso Dalboquerque must make an entry into the straits, seeing that now the affairs of India afforded him an opportunity of effecting it.

When the council meeting was over, every one rejoined his ship, and on the morrow morning Afonso Dalboquerque ordered a gun to be fired as a signal for setting sail, and all anchors were weighed, and thus, with a favourable wind for a good voyage, they shaped their course direct to the Cape of Guardafum;[1] but, in the Gulf, the winds were so boisterous, that they lost more time than could have been anticipated by any one for that voyage, and this caused the store of water to run out; and because there was no watering place at the Cape of Guardafum for so many ships, and it seemed likely that, if delay of some days should arise on account of taking in water, the Moors of Adem might obtain information of the arrival of the Portuguese fleet, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered the whole fleet to stand in to Çacotorá,[2] and anchors were cast in the port of Çoco,[3] where our fortress used to stand. In this place, there were already about fifty Fartaquins,[4] who had begun to repair it, but as they had not yet any means of defending it, as soon as they saw the fleet they all fled to the mountain range opposite Calaceá,[5] which is a port

[1] See vol. i, p. 80.
[2] See vol. i, p. 19.
[3] Súk, on the N. coast in Tamarida Bay.
[4] See vol. i, p. 58.
[5] Ghubbet Gollonsier, *i.e.*, Gollonsir Bay, at the N.W. corner of the island. Col. Yule calls this place *Colesseeah*, and sees in it a resemblance to *Ecclesia*.—*Marco Polo*, 2nd edit., ii, 402.

situated on the other side of the island. But the native Christians came down to parley with Afonso Dalboquerque, and he ordered a present to be given to them of some cloths and rice, and all the houses belonging to the Moors to be thrown down, and set on fire everything they possessed therein.

As soon as this had been done, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered the whole fleet to take in water, and sent João Gomes to cruise along the coast in his *caravela*, round the island as far as Calaceá, for he was in fear lest there might be there some barque belonging to the Fartaquins, or some Moorish vessel, watering; which, when it passed over from the other side for Fartaque and Dofar,[1] would carry intelligence of the coming of the Portuguese. João Gomes searched all the island, and entered the port, without finding a single barque or vessel, and then set out to return, but as the winds were easterly, and contrary for returning to the port of Çoco, where our fleet had remained, he was compelled to tack, and, while he was tacking out to sea, he fell in with a ship which was on its way to the straits, and took possession of her and brought her along with him. But as she came from Chaul, with which we were at peace, and brought no spices, although there was no safe conduct among the ship's papers, Afonso Dalboquerque would not take anything out of her, but brought her in his company, in order to avail himself of the pilot in that voyage, for there was not one with him who knew the coast.

After that João Gomez had thus returned, the whole fleet having already laid in a supply of water, Afonso Dalboquerque, before setting out, discussed with all his Captains, Fidalgoes, and Cavaliers of the fleet, the manner in which they should proceed to attack the city of Adem. In this debate various different opinions were delivered.

[1] See vol. i, p. 58.

For the greater number of voices declared that on reaching the city they ought to parley with the Moors before making any attack upon it, demanding to know whether they were willing to stand in obedience and service of the King of Portugal: on the other part, others declared that without holding any further communication, they ought to attack the city.

Afonso Dalboquerque was of the latter opinion, for he said, that in important undertakings, which, like this city of Adem, had help so close at hand, it was not fitting, when they were at the crisis, to be taking counsel as to what they must do, but rather to make up their minds thoroughly to attack it; for to wish to negociate with the inhabitants was the same as giving them time to get themselves into a better condition of defence than they now were in, and opportunity for help to come to them from some other quarter, if any necessity for succour should arise; and if only the inhabitants were suffered to equip themselves for defence, then the Portuguese would have to run the risk of their lives, and put out their whole strength; therefore his opinion was that as soon as they reached Adem, without holding any further communication with the Moors (provided nothing untoward should arise), to attack the city at once, for the best advice he could give them was to forestall events which might happen, and not in the midst of peril be seeking for a remedy; for the Moors of that land would not pay tribute in consequence of philosophical arguments, but only after much blood had been spilt among them. And every one agreed with him in his opinion.

CHAPTER II.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque set sail from Çaçotorá, and reached Adem; and the reason why he did not immediately attack the city as he had intended, and the rest that took place.

As soon as this debate was over, the great Afonso Dalboquerque gave orders that all the fleet should set sail direct to Adem; and because the wind began to drop, all proceeded to warp in as much as possible, in order to get well in under the lee of the Cape of Guardafum, which lay to the windward of the fleet; for from that point, no matter from which direction the wind came, they would have it in their power to make the mouth of the straits, and notwithstanding that they altered their course from one rhumb-line to another, yet they touched in shore at a place to the leeward of Abedalcuria,[1] and from that point onward sounded the coast as they proceeded along it, with the intention of crossing over from Mete[2] to Adem. But inasmuch as the currents were contrary to the wind, and the sea ran high, our fleet experienced great difficulty for the space of three days, so that all the *caturs*, which hung at the prows of the ships for use when the fleet had entered the straits, were lost. And when the pilots made out their position to be ten leagues from Mete, they determined to cross over to Adem. But because if once they missed the port they could not make it again on account of the easterly winds, they ordered the fleet to steer a north-westerly course, so as to be continually to the leeward, and with this course they held on all that day and night, under very little sail,

[1] See vol. i, p. 199.

[2] Meyet. This is the present course. "Vessels bound to Aden during the S.W. monsoon should keep along the Somali coast until off Meyet island, when they should stretch off from it for the Arabian coast."—*Gulf of Aden Pilot*, 1882, p. 52.

and when dawn broke they were between Canacani[1] and a mountain range called Arzina[2] and on that day they made their way along the coast. But when night fell, Afonso Dalboquerque, not wishing to pass the port of Adem, ordered signal to be made for all the fleet to stop; and all the vessels lay to under bare poles until morning, when they made sail again, and at sun-down they came in sight of Adem. And as they were not acquainted with the land, and the fleet was very large, and the ships might dash one against another if they anchored, every one was of opinion that it would be well not to try and enter the port in the night, but to lay out cables with the intention of remaining in their present position for that night. And being thus minded, Pero Dalboquerque came in his boat to the ship of Afonso Dalboquerque and told him how he had found a bottom in thirty-five fathoms. On receipt of this intelligence which Pero Dalboquerque had given him, he ordered a signal to be made to the ships to weigh anchor, and with sounding[3] and leads[4] in their hands they made their way through that reef until the lead showed fourteen fathoms, very close in to the harbour of Adem. The Moors, who had already for some time had our fleet in view from a very high ridge of mountains which overlooks the whole of that sea, made fires to entice it upon a point of land which is just opposite the straits after passing Adem, thinking that our men would steer their course toward the fires, because if they had once made their way to that side they could not make the harbour again as long as the east wind blew.

But Afonso Dalboquerqe, with his accustomed caution,

[1] Called the Islands of Canicani, on the Arabian coast, N.W. of Socotra, and N.E. of Aden, in Barretto de Resende's Map. See vol. i, p. 80.

[2] Darsina, between Aden and Canicani Islands on the same map.

[3] *Traquetes.* [4] *Prumos*, *i.e.*, Plumbos.

fearing for some unexpected event, ordered the whole fleet to come to anchor, and remained there thus at anchor during the whole of that night. On the following day, in the morning, which was Good Friday,[1] they set sail and started with intention of anchoring in the eastern harbour, but as there were many Moorish vessels already lying in the harbour, so as to occupy the whole space, our vessels remained a little way off outside.

Our men, however, being all under arms, and apparelled in all respects for disembarking, in accordance with the arrangements already concerted, desired to lose no time in getting to land, and falling upon the city. And although Afonso Dalboquerque was very desirous of gratifying their wishes, because it was Good Friday, the day of the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom he was very devoted, and in whom he reposed all his hopes, yet seeing that the necessity of the situation somewhat altered his plans, he desired rather to insure the safety of the fleet and place the vessels where they would not be one in another's way, and strengthen their cables, with the end that if any very fierce wind should suddenly arise, no untoward event should take place; and so indeed it fell out, for after the ships had cast anchor, the east wind blew so fiercely that some of his ships had to lay out three, and others four cables.

After the burst of wind had passed over, Mira Merjão, Governor of the city, sent a message to Afonso Dalboquerque, by a Moor of Cananor who was in Adem, asking what it was that he wanted, and what it was that he had come to seek for with that fleet? Afonso Dalboquerque replied that he was the Captain-General of the King D. Manuel, King of Portugal and Lord of the Indies, that he had been on his way to Judá[2] in pursuit of the Rumes,[3] and not finding them there, had determined to go to Suez to discover

[1] *Sesta feira de Endoenças.*

[2] See vol. i, p. 234.

[3] See vol. ii, p. 60.

if the report was true that the Sultan of Cairo was daring to fit out a fleet against the power of the king his lord.

The Moor returned to land with this reply, and Mira Merjão sent him back immediately with a present of fowls, sheep, lemons, and oranges, and sent with him a message that the city of Adem was the King of Portugal's, and everything that king wished or ordered concerning it should be carried out. Afonso Dalboquerque replied to this, that it was not his practice to receive presents from lords with whom he was not in a settled state of peace, let him therefore look to his own words, for he would accept the presents on that condition only; and the Moor was told to declare to Mira Merjão that inasmuch as he was willing to be in obedience to the king his lord, he must give orders for opening the gates of the city, and must receive the Portuguese flag and soldiers in the same; and as for the Moorish merchants whose ships were there, he (Afonso) would grant them safe-conduct, and they must apply to him for the permission. Afonso Dalboquerque did this with the object of drawing these merchant ships out of the city, so as to have fewer enemies arrayed against him.

When Mira Merjão perceived by this last communication from Afonso Dalboquerque, that he liked deeds better than words, he sent him a message by two of the principal Moors of the city, that he (Mira) was the servant of the Xeque, lord of all that land, and had no permission to allow the Portuguese to enter within the city; but if he desired anything further let him come and discuss the matter at the water's edge with twenty men, and he on his part would bring the same number of men to the interview. Afonso Dalboquerque replied that he begged to be excused from taking part in any meeting between them in any other place except within the city. The two Moors thereupon returned, bearing this reply, and no further intercourse transpired,

neither did the merchants take care to come and get safe-conduct for their ships, and upon this matter there was no more correspondence nor counsel. And because on account of the want of the *caturs* which were lost on the voyage, Afonso Dalboquerque was not provided with the means of disembarking the men so rapidly as was necessary, he ordered the ships to collect together some large barges[1] that drew very little water, which were used by the Moors there in the lading and unlading of their vessels, with the intention of attacking the city on the following morning before daybreak, which was Easter Eve.[2]

Of the Situation of the City of Adem.

Adem[3] is a city seated on the coast of Arabia in twelve and a half degrees of north latitude. Its circuit would be greater than that of the city of Evora, but the population is not so great. It contains very beautiful houses, very lofty, all made of stone and mortar. The city is situated at the foot of a very lofty mountain range, and along the road at the summit[4] there are many castles and towers, which seems to be a thing made more for the sake of beautiful appearances than profitable for defence.

The city lies in the mouth and fairway of the straits of the Red Sea, and close alongside of it there pass by the ships which set sail from India to the straits in the months of November, December, January, February; but those which set out in the month of March hug the coast of the Cape of Guardafum and keep always in sight of the land of Barbora[5] and Zeila,[6] but do not catch sight of Adem, for at that season of the year the west winds already begin

[1] *Barcaças.*

[2] Easter Eve in A.D. 1513 fell on March 26th.

[3] See Appendix. The best chart of Aden that I have seen is that of Commander Haines.

[4] *Comiada.* [5] See vol. i, p. 58. [6] See vol. i, p. 58.

to blow. This city is stronger on the side of the land than on that of the sea. There are two places where an entry may be effected. From this mountain range which overlooks the city comes a wall of very steep ascent,[1] reaching down to where the sea touches the city wall, which would be about the same length as in Lisbon from the Golden Gate to the gates of the dockyard. And this wall lies opposite to the harbour which the Moors call Focate,[2] which is the road whither all the ships proceed to lie at anchor, and there are two towers there with a bastion, wherein the Moors had artillery and a catapult.[3] In this harbour lies a little island of sharp rock, with not a green blade of grass upon it, separated from the city, and this the Moors call Cira;[4] the which has a mole or mass of wall crossing the harbour and sheltering the ships under it from the east wind, which, when it comes, is so furious that they suffer greatly from its effects. And at the head of this mole they have a tower and a bastion, both very strong.

When Afonso Dalboquerque returned hither after his coming from the straits he found this island surrounded with a wall with many towers made in it, that Mira Merjão had caused to be made, fearing lest our men should take it, and fortify themselves in it, when they returned to these parts, but this availed him very little, as I shall show further on. Neither in the island nor in the city is there any water except that which is brought into them by carriage, and two or three years often pass without any rain. On the back of the city, behind this mountain range, lies another harbour, which they call Ujufu,[5] sheltered from

[1] *Talhado a pique.*

[2] Bay of Hokát, south of the old town of Aden in Haines' chart.

[3] *Trabuco*, a military engine for throwing large masses of stone against the enemy.

[4] Sirah, or Fortified Island, to the east of the town on the same chart.

[5] Ras Hejáf, or Heyof, on the N. coast of the Peninsula of Aden, facing the entrance of the inner bay.

every wind. It has a bottom in which very large ships can lie at anchor, and into this harbour there runs a very narrow creek, which at low tide has but little water. Over it passes a bridge made in ancient times by the inhabitants of the city, because it formed the shortest route from Zebir[1] to Adem, where the king spent the greater part of the time. And along this road runs a stream of water, in a conduit which passes at the side of the bridge, and discharges itself into a large tank built of masonry, at a league's distance from the city, and it is to that spot that the camels are taken for water.

The water which issues out from under the arches[2] is spread over the country below in pools or lagoons, and if the inhabitants of this city had not this bridge, they could not go round in a single day so many pools as there are spread forth over those fields. And beyond this water service of the bridge, there is a broad plateau, which reaches from the interior country plain to a gate which is formed in the mountain range, having two strongly fortified towers, and by means of it they used to supply the camels with water at the very time when our fleet lay in the harbour, for from our ships and boats our people used to see them going and coming laden along the plateau and entering the gate of the mountain range.

The breadth of this isthmus, from one sea to the other, is about a quarter of a league, whence it may clearly be seen that Adem is not an island, although in ancient times it was always so held to be. But Afonso Dalboquerque, hoping hereafter to return again and attack it, desired to obtain better information about this, and ordered Manuel

[1] Perhaps the village of Biyar Ahmed, site of the Sultan's residence, to the N.W. of Aden on the chart. But from chapter ix, it is more probably Zebid, N.W. of Aden, near the Arabian coast of the Red Sea.

[2] The remains of this aqueduct are marked on the chart as still existing. Total breadth, 54 ins.; water channel, 19 ins. deep, 16 ins. wide; wall, 19 ins. on each side.

de Lacerda, Simão Dandrade, Pero de Afonseca, and Simão Velho, to take their boats and explore all this and examine it very carefully. For he often used to say that had he seen Adem he would not have attacked it on that part where he did attack it.

In front of this mountain range, on the other side of the land, lies a place which is called Rubaca, in which there lived twenty fishermen, all poor people, in straw huts, and in this district there are many pools of good drinking water and a small palm grove.

The King of Adem has about fifteen hundred cavalry soldiers, and a large force of infantry. His principal revenue, which, indeed, maintains him, is from the madder,[1] which grows in his country, of which there is a yearly crop of about twenty-five thousand bales. No one may purchase this except only the king of the land. The growers give it to him at six *xerafins*[2] the bale; and he sends it on to Cambaya, where it is used in dyeing cloth, being sold there at twenty-two [*xerafins*] the bale. All his other sources of revenue are insignificant.

This harbour of Adem was anciently a very small settlement, but after the discovery of India by the Portuguese and their navigation to that place, it began to increase, and at length became a large mart of all the kinds of merchandize which enter the mouth of the straits [of the Red Sea] inwards. The reason of this is, because the fleets which the King of Portugal always maintains on the Indian coast do not allow the ships of the Moors to make their way to those parts [which lie inside the straits] in their proper season, for these ships, to avoid capture, set out on their voyage without waiting for the monsoon, and go and discharge their merchandize at Adem, selling them to the native merchants, and then buying other goods,

[1] *Ruiva:* called in Vieyra's *Dictionary* "*Ruiva dos tintureiros*".

[2] See vol. i, pp. 43, 82, 170.

which they take back with them to India, and then, when the monsoon is come, the merchants of Adem send this merchandize to Judá, to Meca,[1] to Sucz, and to other sites which lie within the straits. For this reason it was that many merchants came to settle at Adem from Cairo, from Judá, and from India, and from other such places, with large possessions. This made Adem the noble place it is to-day, being reputed to be the richest district that there is on all that coast.

CHAPTER III.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque attacked the city of Adem, and what passed in this first attack.

When Friday was passed, the whole day being occupied in fastening the ships together with cables, as I have already said, on the following night the great Afonso Dalboquerque sent for all the captains and told them that, although it had been agreed by all that an attack should be made upon the city, the extent of the wall was so long that they had neither sufficient men nor ladders to invest the whole of it; therefore, it seemed good to him that all must unite together to make an assault upon it at one spot, so as to get a double line of men up to the wall, who could thereby succour each other; and when once they had forced their entrance into the city, they must be careful to take up such a position in respect to the Moors as to get possession of the gate of the mountain range which led towards the interior country, for if they failed to take that, they would fail to obtain any real advantage, and the Moors could place as many reinforcements as they

[1] See vol. i, p. 58.

liked inside the city, so that the Portuguese would be compelled after all to retire to their ships, and this would be a great disaster and failure for them. Therefore, it was very important for all of them to fight like cavaliers, and labour to the utmost to gain possession of the gate.

The captains began to feel somewhat disconcerted, and replied that he need not be under any misapprehension, nor bring himself to abandon undertaking the assault, for they on their part were quite ready to give him their assistance in the enterprise. This having been, therefore, thus arranged, Afonso Dalboquerque decided that D. Garcia, with the greater part of the soldiers, Fidalgoes and Cavaliers whom he could muster, were to proceed to assault the wall with their scaling ladders, on the left hand side, where the Moors had posted the larger number of their forces. For on that side there was a gate, concerning which they have a prophecy that through it the city of Adem must be captured. (This gate D. Garcia endeavoured to break in, but he found it was walled up inside.) Meanwhile, Afonso Dalboquerque himself, with the rest of his people, were to attack on the right hand side, and João Fidalgo, the Captain in command of the train-bands, was to take up a position between the two, having with him a very broad scaling-ladder, by means of which six men could mount abreast. At the same time Anrique Homem, with a party of a hundred ordnance soldiers, were to cross the summit of a rock which ran level with the wall, for by this means he could easily descend into the city. And as soon as our people had reached the top of the wall they were to leap down inside.

When all had been instructed in the different duties which they were to carry out, they returned to their ships, and, when there wanted two hours to daybreak, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered a trumpet to be sounded; then all came on board his ship immediately, and from it they set

out just as the dawn was breaking, making their way to reach the wall. But, as the bottom of the water was very shelving, with *parcel* rocks, the boats were compelled to come to a stop about the distance of a cross-bow shot from shore, and this gave our people great trouble, for they all were forced to wade through the water, and the musketeers wetted the powder which they were bringing with them. But not the less on this account did the captains and all these servants of the king, like valiant cavaliers, take the scaling ladders on their backs, each one in the company in which he was placed, and set them up against the wall, with great efforts.

The captains who formed Afonso Dalboquerque's company, placed their scaling ladders and mounted up to the walls by means of them without any further consideration, which caused Afonso Dalboquerque great concern, for although this was a deed of daring worthy of cavaliers, it resulted in the ranks of the men of their company becoming at once disordered, with the exception of a few Fidalgoes and Cavaliers who went up the ladders at the same time with the captains, and so eager was the haste which every one made to mount, each exerting himself to be the first, that with the weight of numbers the ladders broke down.

When Afonso Dalboquerque perceived that the ladders of his party were broken, and all the rest of the men hastening towards that one which was under command of João Fidalgo, Captain of the train-bands, he was under the apprehension that they would break it also in like manner as they had done his, so he ordered the halbardiers of his company to hasten to the spot to try if, by means of their halbards, they could prop up the scaling ladder and protect it from being broken. But, notwithstanding this, the ladder broke down under the great weight of the

men, and the halbards were broken in pieces, and some of the halbardiers killed and others badly wounded.[1]

D. Garcia, also, during this time, with the assistance of the captains who were in his company, had placed his scaling ladders in position; and, although the Moors had posted a large body of men to oppose him, nevertheless, our men had manœuvred in such a manner that a great number of them had climbed to the top of the wall, and had cleared everything from off it, and planted their banner upon it. And it is declared that Garcia de Sousa was the first to plant his banner upon one of the turrets.[2]

The remainder of the men forming the company of Afonso Dalboquerque, envious at the sight of their companions who had got on the top of the wall, repaired to the scaling-ladder under charge of D. Garcia, with a view to ascending also, and so great a number of men thronged together there, one upon the other's heels, that all the scaling-ladders were broken; and D. Garcia himself was wounded, together with a large number of those under his command at that place. And when he saw that the scaling-ladders were broken, and that he himself could do nothing, wounded and in evil plight as he was he ran along the top of the wall, with the men whom he had with him, and made his way to Afonso Dalboquerque, to learn from him what was to be done. When Afonso Dalboquerque saw him in this sorry condition, streaming with blood, he said to him: "Sir nephew, do not excite yourself, for this orchard cannot produce any other kind of fruit than this; and, although these Moors now get the best of us as we have broken our ladders, I trust in Our Lord that at some

[1] See the early woodcut of this escalade in the British Museum Map Department, reproduced in Col. Yule's *Marco Polo*, 2nd ed., 1875, vol. ii, p. 438.

[2] *Cubelo.* Cubello, a sort of tower formerly erected upon the walls of a town or fortress.

other time we may be revenged upon them. Then he ordered him to make his way along the wall with his men and see if he could burst open any porthole or embrasure, so as to let some twenty or thirty cross-bowmen or musketeers pass through it, in order to help those of our forces who were on the top of the wall, and fortify themselves in the turret which they had already taken, while he himself mended some of the scaling-ladders in order to make a second attempt to get up.

D. Garcia, as soon as he arrived at the embrasure, burst it open; and inside it was about the height of a man standing upright. When our men saw the embrasure cleared, they all ran up to it so as to make good their entry through it. But D. Garcia, in accordance with the orders which Afonso Dalboquerque had given him to admit none but cross-bowmen and musketeers, tried hard to prevent any other but these from entering; yet, by this time, João de Ataíde, and some soldiers, had already forced their way in. The Moors, perceiving so small a number of our men on the wall, and the scaling-ladders broken, swarmed up at the mouth of the embrasure, intending to prevent our men from entering in; and, with great store of lighted straw, and earth, and stone, which they cast in, soon covered up the embrasure again, most of our party of cross-bow men and musketeers being by this time dead, and many others wounded, for they could not get in on account of the suffocating smoke; while our other party, who were on the top of the wall, not being provided with lances, could not drive away the enemy who were engaged in closing up the embrasure, for when they had climbed to the top of the wall the only weapons they carried were short swords and bucklers.

CHAPTER IV.

How Jorge da Silveira, with some Fidalgoes who were on the wall, leaped down inside and went to attack the Moors; and the rest that took place.

When the Captains, Fidalgoes, and Cavaliers, who were on the top of the wall—that is to say, Jorge da Silveira, Aires da Silva, D. João de Lima, Vicente Dalboquerque, D. João Déssa, Ruy Galvão, João de Meira, Ruy Palha, João de Ataíde, Manuel da Costa, João Gonçalvez de Castelo-Branco, Tristão de Miranda, Garcia de Sousa, D. Alvaro de Castro, Lourenço Godinho, Gil Simões, and other servants of the king—perceived that the Moors were barking at them below, piqued at the little account in which they were held by them, and without waiting for any further reinforcements, they leaped down at them, and, with brave endeavours, came to close quarters with them, and, pursuing them as they ran, they got in, altogether in a confused mass, inside the palisades which had been set up at the mouths of the streets leading to the market square, until they reached a terrace, where they slew very many of the enemy.

Mira Merjão, the Captain of the city, who was watching the train-bands, which Afonso Dalboquerque had stationed on the edge of the mountain range, to see that they did not make any movement of coming down, for, if they had come down, they would have fallen upon him in the rear, and, in that case, would have inflicted a severe blow upon him, saw that they did not make any move, so he sallied out, with a band of about a hundred Moors, and fell upon our party from the wall. These showed him a very good front, killing some of his men and wounding Mira Merjão himself. But, while this was being done, so many Moors rallied together to support him, that our men were compelled

to retire up against the wall, Jorge da Silveira having been killed, and some of the soldiers wounded in the encounter.

Meanwhile, Garcia de Sousa, Duarte de Mélo, Gaspar Cão, Diogo Estaço, Diogo de Andrade, João de Sousa, André Correa, and a mulatto man, belonging to Garcia de Sousa, fortified themselves in a turret; and the others watched on the wall for the Moors who were following up in close pursuit after them. These, when they arrived near to them, were handled very severely (the ground being on a level with this landing) with darts[1] and arrows; for our men had no lances which would have enabled them to attack the enemy from the top and drive him away. Afonso Dalboquerque, who was on the outer side, close up to the wall, seeing them thus hard pressed, gave orders to reconstruct, out of the splinters of the broken scaling-ladders, another one, lashed together with cords, whereby they could get up and rally to the support of those on the wall. No sooner had this newly made scaling-ladder been set up against the wall—every one being desirous of mounting it, and failing to make way for those who were above to descend by means of it—so large a body of men got upon it that it was again broken into pieces. Anrique Homem, who was drawing off with train-bands party under his command, ashamed of being the cause of this disaster, and of the careless way in which he had acted in this attempt to succour our men, made an endeavour to get down the ladder again; but, because there was no longer any time to do it, Afonso Dalboquerque ran up in haste and reproved him, and made him turn back, and then returned to D. Garcia, whom he had left mending a scaling-ladder and ropes so that our men might drop down from the wall. But because the ladder was a little too short, most of our men slid down the ropes in safety, and, at length

[1] *Zagunchos.*

none were left in the turret on the top of the wall except Garcia de Sousa and one more, his mulatto man. Then Garcia de Sousa, seeing that all had deserted him—some of them, indeed, with such haste that they broke their legs—began to call out aloud to Afonso Dalboquerque: "Sir, order some men to come up here, to help me in defending this turret, for those who were with me have deserted me." Afonso Dalboquerque, in a great rage at seeing affairs turning out thus, without any means of improvement at his hands, replied: "I know not what to do for you, all the scaling-ladders are broken, and we have nothing wherewith we can make any more. The hour of Adem is not yet come, so I beg you to save yourself by these ropes, just as these other Captains and Cavaliers here with me have done."

Garcia de Sousa made no answer to this, but turned himself to the Moors, who were working their way to get in at him in the turret, and said to his mulatto man: "Do thou save thyself, for I shall die here, for never would God have it that I should go down except by the same way which I went up. Thou shalt take this, my buckler, to the king, our lord, in order that it may be a witness before him how I have met my end here in his service." Then he took out a piece of the Wood of the Cross, which he wore round his neck, and gave it to the mulatto man. By this time the Moors had already got on the top of the wall close to the turret, and he and his mulatto man defended themselves so stoutly that none of the enemy could get into it, until at length Garcia de Sousa was struck with an arrow on the head, which laid him low, after he had made great havoc among the Moors.

When the mulatto, who was already severely wounded, saw his lord was dead, he took the buckler and let himself slide down by the ropes. This buckler was made after the fashion of those of cowhide, which are used by the Malabar

people, and on this account it was thick with arrows. The combat lasted from daybreak until midday, at which time our men withdrew. I do not blame Garcia de Sousa because he rashly refused to do that which the other Fidalgoes and Cavaliers had done, neither do I blame those of whom he complained, for deserting him, for all the scaling-ladders were broken, and the wall was very lofty, and there was no means of scaling it, nor place where the artillery could fire against it so as to effect a breach, because the tidal water came up close to the spot. Let him who reads these Commentaries decide the matter for himself.

CHAPTER V.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque, after having collected all his forces together, and made ready to embark, commanded D. Garcia to capture the artillery placed in the Island of Cira, with which the Moors were firing upon him.

The great Afonso Dalboquerque having all his forces collected together for re-embarking, Mira Merjão ordered an attack to be made upon him with the artillery which he had in a tower upon the Island of Cira, with the result of killing some of our men and wounding many. Seeing the damage which the large guns of the enemy inflicted upon him, and that he could not resist them because he had no scaling-ladders nor means of getting to close quarters with them, and his people much exhausted with their labour, and the excessive heat of the weather, Afonso Dalboquerque proceeded to embark—the high tide being already close up to the foot of the wall—much against every one's wishes, for they were desirous of returning again to the combat, and wanted Afonso Dalboquerque to order the heavy guns to be taken out of the ships and put on shore and trained on the wall, so as to effect an entry under cover of their fire.

But Alfonso Dalboquerque, who was well aware that this could not be carried out, on account of the difficulty which I have already spoken of, with respect to the tide, and also because the east monsoon was beginning to fail, and a single day more spent at Adem would put the fleet to the hazard of being lost for want of water, and to turn back would be equivalent to the loss of two months and a half, and if they wished to enter the straits [of the Red Sea], the east wind was just on the point of ceasing to blow, would not undertake this, but withdrew to the ships with all his forces; and, on the following day in the morning, ordered D. Garcia de Noronha, his nephew, with all his men, to go and take possession of the tower and bulwark of the Island of Cira. On his arrival at the foot of the tower, with the force that accompanied him, D. Garcia bore himself so bravely in the attempt, that he took it with very little damage on our side. As for the Moors, they could not stand against the onset with which we fell upon them; many threw themselves down from the wall, others fled into the city, and those who were left were all put to the sword. There were taken in this tower and bulwark thirty-six cannon,[1] of the size of our *camelos*,[2] and others somewhat smaller. D. Garcia, with this victory, kept himself stationed there until Afonso Dalboquerque desired to set sail for the straits, bombarding the city and throwing down many houses in it.

When D. Garcia had returned to the ships, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered all the masters of the ships to refit them with rigging and shrouds, and all other things that they had need of, out of the ships of the Moors which were lying in the harbour; and the captains and soldiers in the fleet to strip them of all the merchandise which they carried, and gather together all the provisions they could find. And when the Moorish ships were thus sacked and despoiled

[1] *Bombardos*, mortars. [2] See vol. i, p. 73.

of all their contents, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered that they should be set on fire, and thus all were consumed without a single one remaining.

All that can be said concerning this attempt upon Adem is, that the Captains, Fidalgoes, and Cavaliers engaged in it, attacked the city with great bravery and fierce onset, but Fortune, envious at seeing them at the point of gaining with such great honours a city of such importance as that was, under the very beard of the Grand Sultan, would have it that the scaling-ladders should be broken all at the same time; for without contradiction they would have taken the city had it not been for this unexpected accident, seeing that there was no force of the enemy who could dare to fight at close quarters with our men in the streets of the city, notwithstanding that three days had already elapsed since our fleet had been sighted from the heights of the mountain range of Arzina[1] ere it arrived before the harbour of Adem. It would have been, indeed, a very creditable deed for Portugal, and highly advantageous towards the security of India, if we had gained possession of Adem and fortified ourselves in it.

Afonso Dalboquerque, indeed, often used to say that for the preservation of India, and the prevention of troubles arising from that territory to the Kings of Portugal, there were four things, of which their possession by the Portuguese must be made very strong and very sure. These were: Adem, in order to have dominion over the Straits of Méca, before the Grand Sultan could forestall them in their seizing it; Ormuz, so as to have supreme rule over the Straits of Baçorá; and Diu and Goa, for the sovereignty of all the other districts of India. And with these four places assured to Portugal, and fortified with very strong fortresses, she could avoid many other unnecessary expenses to which she was now subject.

[1] See p. 7; Camões calls this Arzira, see p. 30.

A fortnight after the day when Afonso Dalboquerque had reared the scaling-ladders against the walls of Adem, news reached Cairo by the camel-post sent from the Xeque of Adem to the Grand Sultan, to the intent that he would have him to know that the Portuguese had effected an entrance into the Red Sea, and intercepted the route of the pilgrimages to Méca. The reply sent back was to the effect that if the Christians had made good their entrance into the straits, the Xeque must keep a good guard over his harbours and his lands, just as he himself intended to do the same over his. The reason of the Grand Sultan's reply being couched in such dry terms was that a few days ago he had sent a message to the Xeque desiring that he would hand it over to him, for it had belonged to his father and his ancestors; but the Xeque's answer to this demand had been that he was not aware that Adem ever had any other lord than himself. And the Moor who brought back this reply also gave intelligence that Judá was being depopulated of all the women and children, out of fear of our fleet; that in Cairo a great revolt had broken out because it was reported that the Christians were coming up against Alexandria, and the Xeque Ismael, with a great army, against Aleppo; that the Grand Sultan, upon hearing of the entry of our fleet within the straits, had fallen into a great state of alarm, because he was of opinion that this was part of a preconcerted plan made by everyone to effect his destruction; and that the same Xeque had ordered the execution of Amirquebir, Udaquebir, and Mircelaquebir, the three principal captains of his kingdom, on account of the suspicion which he had that they were privy to this conspiracy against him, and had summoned to his presence the Governor of Damascus, who would not go at his command, because he feared lest he should be subjected to the same death which had overtaken the others at the Xeque's orders. All this news was corroborated afterwards before

Afonso Dalboquerque, by an Abyssinian[1] who came off with Ruy Galvão in Zeila on the return voyage out of the straits.

CHAPTER VI.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque set out from the harbour of Adem with his fleet, and made sail direct for the straits.

When the great Afonso Dalboquerque was now quite ready to set forth, and all the fleet supplied with everything necessary for the sureness of their voyage, he sent forward, in advance of the vessels, a ship of Chaul, which João Gomez had captured in Çacotorá, having on board twenty Portuguese and a Jew for interpreter, giving them directions to take a pilot for him at the entrance of the straits out of the number of those who dwell there, for he was afraid that if they were to see our whole fleet they would flee away, and he would be left without a pilot. The ship had no sooner arrived at an island which lies at the mouth of the straits than one of these pilots came up and hailed her, and came on board, asking if there was need of a pilot. Then our people came out of their hiding as soon as they had the pilot on board, and laid hands upon him. These pilots are called Rubães; they live at the entrance of the straits, in the island of which I have already made mention. They conduct the navigation from that point inwards, and have great experience of all the shallows and harbours of those parts; and the ships which are making for port inside the straits call at that island for a pilot, paying thirty cruzados for his services as far as Judá.

As soon as this Chaul ship had gone forward, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered the whole fleet to be towed out of the harbour, and set sail direct for the straits, and in two days' time reached the mouth. And as they were the first

[1] See further on, chapter xi.

Portuguese who had ever reached that point since the discovery of India, the great Afonso Dalboquerque ordered that the ships should be dressed with their flags, and all the artillery fired, and great rejoicing made; and they proceeded to anchor in the eastern harbour which lies just inside the gate of the straits. When the fleet was anchored, our men (who had gone forward in the Chaul ship) came back, bringing with them the pilot whom they had captured; and, although Afonso Dalboquerque carried three whom he had taken in some ships from Zeila which had reached the harbour of Adem, he was very much pleased at the sight of this one, and gave him a very good reception. On the morning of the following day, an inward-bound Moorish ship hove in sight, making for the passage, but as soon as she caught sight of our fleet, she hauled down her sails and went and anchored behind an island lying in the mouth of the straits, which they call Mium,[1] and as she lay to windward of us, she was saved.

Afonso Dalboquerque, seeing that the time was passing quickly, and that his great need of water had put him into considerable difficulty, not knowing where he could get it if the Moorish pilots had not said that they would be able to furnish it for him in Camarão, would not allow himself to be detained any longer, and on the next day set sail, shaping his course through the broad sea which is in the middle of the straits. Keeping the coast of Arabia and of the Preste João always in sight, the Portuguese fleet drew along in front of an island which lies in the middle of this passage called Jebelzocor,[2] but could not put in that day;

[1] Perim Island, sometimes called Meyún, a bare rocky island, rather flat, about three miles long and one and three-quarters broad, close to Cape Bab-el-Mandeb.

[2] Jebel Zukur, lying on the parallel of 14 deg. N., is by far the highest island in the Red Sea, and may perhaps be considered a small mountain. It is twenty-eight miles in circuit, and nearly nine miles long from north to south, composed of a series of lofty hills of barren aspect.

and as the land was new to them, which they had to explore with the lead-line in their hand, and the sun was nearly set, Afonso Dalboquerque told the pilots to show him a harbour, and they caused the fleet to draw up opposite the Arabian coast, and then proceeded to take it to a headland, where he remained under shelter from the east wind; there the fleet cast anchor, riding in a bottom of from eight to twelve fathoms. In this harbour there were found four ships from Barbora and Zeila, laden with supplies for Judá and Méca, and in it were taken some Abyssinian women and youths, whom the Moors were carrying to sell in Judá. But as this was the land of the Preste João, Afonso Dalboquerque would not allow them to be made captives; but of the Moors they took only a few, for most of them saved themselves by swimming off, and those who remained, he punished by cutting off their hands, ears, and noses, because they were subjects of the Xeque of Adem, and ordered them to be put down on their own land; and in like manner he served all those whom he took inside the straits, except those of Camarão, because he had determined to make a treaty of peace with that land.

CHAPTER VII.

Description of the lands adjacent to the harbours of the Red Sea Straits inwards.

The gates of the straits, which the Moors call Babelmandem, are exceedingly narrow. They lie in a latitude of twelve degrees and two-thirds, and in the very mouth of the straits there lies an island extended right across it which the Moors call Mium, and on one side stretches the territory of the Preste João called Jazem by the Moors, and on the other lies the mainland of Arabia. Between this island

and terra-firma runs a passage or canal about one league only in breadth, through which pass all the ships of the Moors bound to Suez and all the other parts thereabouts, for they come with the east winds, and they lie to on the Arabian side of the land, which forms a very sheltered harbour for them. And in front of this island of Mium, in the same harbour and shelter from the east wind, lies a small islet,[1] to which at low tide one can walk dry-shod on to terra-firma. It is in this island that the Rubães live, who are the pilots of the straits. In the middle of this canal the soundings are about twelve fathoms, and in the harbour sheltered from the east winds the soundings vary from seven to nine fathoms. In these two islands there is no fresh water, neither is there any in the harbour of shelter from the west winds, but it is brought there from terra firma on camels; and behind the island of the Rubães, just before the entrance to the gates of the strait, on the side of terra firma there is a good harbour of shelter from the west winds, which has water at some little distance from the sea-shore. Between the island of Mium and the land of the Preste João[2] runs another canal, which has about seventy-five fathoms' depth of water, and is about two leagues in breadth. Few ships navigate this canal, although it is wider and deeper than the other, and the reason of it is that it possesses no harbour of shelter from the east winds wherein they can ride at anchor, if there is any necessity to do so.

The Moors divide their navigation of the Red Sea[3] into

[1] Sheikh Malu, or Oyster Island on Lieut. Gray's Chart of Perim Island, 1874.

[2] See vol. ii, p. 229.

[3] Camões makes the prophetic siren sing:—

"O cabo vê já Arómata chamado,
E agora Guardafú, dos moradores,
Onde começa a boca do affamado
Mar Roxo, que do fundo toma as cores:

three partitions, and take for their fundamental basis this, that in the breadth of the Red Sea there are twelve *gemmas*,

Este como limite está lançado,
Que divide Asia de Africa; e as melhores
Povoações, que a parte Africa tem,
Maçuá são, Arquico, e Suanquem.

"Vês o extremo Suez, que antiguamente,
Dizem, que foi dos Héroas a cidade,
Outros dizem que Arsinoe, e ao presente
Tem das frotas do Egypto a potestade:
Olha as aguas, nas quaes abrio patente
Estrada o grão Moysés na antigua idade:
Asia começa aqui, que se apresenta
Em terras grande, em reinos opulenta.

"Olha o monte Sinai, que se ennobrece
Co'o sepulchro de sancta Catharina:
Olha Toro, e Gidá, que lhe fallece
Agua das fontes doce, e crystallina:
Olha as portas do estreito, que fenece
No reino da secca Adem, que confina
Com a serra d' Arzira, pedra viva,
Onde chuva dos ceos se não deriva.

"Olha as Arabias tres, que tanta terra
Tomam, todas da gente vaga e baça,
Donde vem os cavallos para a guerra,
Ligeiros, e feroces, de alta raça.
Olha a costa, que corre até que cerra
Outro estreito de Persia, e faz a traça
O cabo, que co'o nome se appellida
Da cidade Fartaque alli sabida.

"Olha Dofar insigne, porque manda
O mais cheiroso incenso para as aras," etc.

Lusiadas, x, 97-101.

"The Cape which Antients 'Aromatic' clepe
Behold, yclept by Moderns Guardafú;
Where opes the Red Sea Mouth, so wide and deep,
The Sea, whose ruddy bed lends blushing hue:
This as a bourne was far thrust out to keep
Asia distinct from Africk, and a few

that is, three daily courses,[1] containing about thirty leagues in the widest part of the straits, and these they divide in the following manner; that is to say, four *gemmas*, or one *sangradura*, of foul sea, islands, shallows and parcel reefs, along the Arabian coast as far as Suez; and other four

Of the best markets Negro sea-boards claim
Arquico are, Masuá and Súanquem.

"View extreme Suez where, old annals say,
Once stood the city hight Hero'opolis;
By some Arsin'oe called, and in our day
She holdeth Egypt's fleets and argosies:
Behold the watery depths, where clove his way
Moses, the mighty, in past centuries:
Asia beginneth here her huge extent
In regions, kingdoms, empires opulent.

"See Sinai mountain, with her boast and pride,
The silver bier of saintly Catherine:
See Toro-port and Gidá, scant supplied
With fountain-water soft and crystalline:
Behold the straits which end the southern side
Of arid Aden-realms, that here confine
With tall Arziran range, nude stone and live,
Whence soft, sweet rains of heaven ne'er derive.

"See threefold Ar'aby, cov'ring so much ground,
Where tawny peoples vague o'er vasty space;
Whence come the Rabytes* best for battle found,
Light-limbed, high-fettled, noble-blooded race.
Behold the coast that trends to bind and bound
Yon other Persian Strait, where sight can trace
The Headland proud the potent name to own
Of Fartak-city, erst to fame well-known.

"Behold insign Dofar that doth command
For Christian altars sweetest incense-store," etc.

Burton.

* Arab horses.

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[1] *Sangraduras.* The *Sangradura*, or *Singradura*, is the way or progress made by a ship during the space of twenty-four hours.

gemmas of foul sea, as already described, along the territory of the Preste João as far as Çoar,[1] which lies nearly north and south with Otor,[2] close to Sucz; and other four *gemmas* are of clear sea, which runs in the middle of the straits; and in these two repartitions which the Moors make of the foul sea, the soundings vary from eight to twelve fathoms; the bottom is parcel reef, and with the lead-line in hand, one can heave-to and get under weigh as much as one likes, and ride at anchor where one wills. But for the navigation of this rough sea pilots are taken at the gates of the straits; for if the weather prove unfavourable they can take a ship into port between the islands and shallows from any one part to any other.

The canal which leads to the middle of the straits, which the Moors call broad sea, has a depth of from twenty-five to forty fathoms, and for its navigation ships have no need of taking the pilot, for whereas they come in settled weather, the same winds which bring them enable them to navigate this broad sea, and pass by the island which is called Jazel-zocor,[3] that lies, as I have already said, in the midst of the straits; and beyond this, opposite Judá,[4] lies another island which they call *Sertão*,[5] and they ride at anchor off these when they think fit, for they have very good roadsteads there. And in spite of all the absurdities[6] which have been anciently reported about this foul sea, our ships can navigate it from one side to the other securely by day with proper precautions, but not by night; and they can navigate the middle of the straits by night or by day without any embarrassment, anchoring at will, provided they are furnished with strong cables.

[1] See vol. i, p. 84.

[2] Tór, for the initial letter here is the Portuguese article, as in Oporto; see plan of Tór on the Admiralty chart, No. 8*a*, Red Sea, sheet 1.

[3] See p. 27, where the name of the island is given as Jebelzocor.

[4] Here probably Ëïd.

[5] Kurdumyat (island) or Çurdomeate.

[6] *Bioças*, see vol. iii, p. 67.

The straits have no fresh water, neither are there rocks sunken below the water, just a wash covered by the sea, as the Moors of those parts used in ancient times to declare, only so that no one should dare to navigate them. There are no storms there, nor contrary winds, nor thunderings.[1] The winds that blow in the spring are always easterly, and those that blow in the winter westerly; but sometimes for an hour, immediately after nightfall, when the east winds drop, there is a land breeze. It is a hot land:[2] the Moors call these straits of the Red Sea, in their language, Bahar Cucixum, which means in ours "the enclosed sea"; and, in my opinion (not following the ideas of those who have written the history of India, but following in this respect the opinion of Afonso Dalboquerque, who was the first after its discovery to penetrate through the gates of the straits), this name Red Sea, or Vermilion Sea, is more suitable to it than any other, and he who first called it by this name had very good reason for it, because all the straits of the Red Sea are full of many spots as scarlet as blood.

And when Afonso Dalboquerque was riding at anchor, with all his fleet, off the point of the straits in the harbour of shelter *from* the west winds, being then already on his return voyage to India, he saw from the masthead of his ship a streak of sea of a very crimson colour, discharging *itself through the mouth* of the straits in an outward direction, and running down opposite Adem, and extending within the straits as far as a man could stretch his sight. Afonso Dalboquerque, being terrified at this, asked the Moorish pilots what was the meaning of that great expanse

[1] Hurricanes or heavy storms are almost unknown in the Red Sea, but fresh gales and close-reefed topsail breezes are of constant occurrence.

[2] The climate of the Red Sea, with exception of that of the Persian Gulf, is perhaps the hottest in the world. At the end of June the temperature is about 98 deg. Fahr., rising to 105 deg. in August in the shade.

of vermilion colour in the sea. They told him not to be alarmed, because the revolution which the tide made in the waters, as the bottom was so rocky, and of little depth, together with the flow of the tide, were the causes of that vermilion colour, and it is principally at the ebb that the waters run out of the straits more rapidly, for within the straits there would not be any current of waters; and when the winds are high, the water would run a little with the wind, especially when it blows from the west, for then the waters run more strongly out of the straits, and the sea is even of a deeper vermilion colour. These reasons seemed good to Afonso Dalboquerque, and he was convinced that this was the way to account for these things, and that the cause of this redness was the nature of the soil at the bottom of the sea. From the head of the straits, that is, from Suez, to the Levant Sea [of the Mediterranean], is a very short road, and, according to that which the Moors have recorded in their writings, when Alexander conquered this land, he formed an intention of uniting this sea to the Levant by using the River Nile; and the Moors, with whom Afonso Dalboquerque conversed, told him that traces could yet be seen where this work had been commenced, which is a road of sandy desert, running from Cairo to Jecusalem, which the Moors call Rumla.[1]

Setting out from the gates of the straits along the coast of Arabia as far as Camarão,[2] all the land is under the domination of the Xeque of Adem, and along the sea there is not a single town nor first-rate harbour; there are only villages and points of land jutting out into the sea, which shelter the ships that stand in and anchor there from the east and west winds: and from Camarão as far as Jud belongs to the Xerife of Jazem. Jud belonged to

[1] Ramleh. Traces of this canal are to be seen in the Wady lately traversed by our troops from Ismaillijeh to Tel-el-Kebir.

[2] Kamaran Bay, below Loheyyah. See plan of Kamaran in Admiralty chart, No. 14.

Xemfe Farcati, but at the time that Afonso Dalboquerque arrived there, it was subject to the Grand Sultan of Cairo, who had placed there a factor with twenty Vamelukes to collect the taxes upon the spiceries and all other sorts of merchandise which reached the port. It was a small place, and the greater part of the houses were built of straw. But when D. Francisco de Almeida overcame the Rumes,[1] Mirocem came to live at Judá, and encircled it with a wall and built towers on the land side for fear of the Alarves who live there in those deserts as far as Meca (which would be about a day's journey), for they come down and rob the inhabitants of the land; and on the side of the sea there was nothing to fear. This harbour of Judá is girt with sharp-pointed ridges of rock like little islands, and close to the land it has hidden banks. It is sheltered from all winds. There are no provisions in the land; they procure all they require from Barbora and Zeila[2] and Aden[3] and Mecua.[4] And in those days, when Afonso Dalboquerque stayed within the straits, the inhabitants suffered great privations, for the Moors did not dare to make the voyage.

From Judá all the way to Otor there live many bands of Alarves. Otor is a city of Christians. From Acintura, and so on as far as Suez, throughout the interior country, they are all Alarves who live in those deserts, nearly as far as Jerusalem, spreading themselves along the sides of the range of Mount Sinai, between the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. Between Judá and Otor, along the shore of the sea, there lies a harbour which is called Limbo,[5] and from that

[1] See vol. ii. p. 16.

[2] See p. 10. [3] Ras Alargah, near Jebel Husan (Aden).

[4] Massowah, or Musawwá Island, the port of Abyssinia, in the northern extremity of Harkiko Bay.

[5] Ras Sedour, in the Gulf of Suez, on the Arabian coast between Suez and Tor.

[6] Limbo, now Yenbo, the port of entry for Medina, on a low sandy shore on the northern side of an inlet of the sea. The entrance to the

place, two days' journey into the interior country, lies the city of Midina, where the body of their false prophet is preserved.

Afonso Dalboquerque had made up his mind to carry out two important undertakings if death had not prevented him (or, to speak more accurately, if the King D. Manuel, listening to the counsel of his enemies, had not ordered him home from India). The first was to pierce through a very small range of hills which runs along the side of the River Nile in the land of the Preste João, so as to divert its waters into another bed, and destroy the irrigation of the lands of Cairo. It was for this object that he sent many times to beg the King D. Manuel to forward to him workmen from the Island of Madeira, accustomed to cut the rocks, so as to make trenches, with which they used to water the sugar-canes in that island. This undertaking could be carried out very easily, for the Preste João was very desirous of accomplishing it, but had no means of carrying it out; and if this had been done (as I believe it could have been done if Afonso Dalboquerque had lived), the land of Cairo would have been entirely destroyed. For, if the Alarves who lived in the desert between Canâ[1] and Cocher[2] were powerful enough to break through the bank, and divert the rising of the Nile whenever they quarrelled with the Grand Sultan, as I shall describe further on, it is clear that it would have been far more easy for Afonso Dalboquerque to do so, with the aid of the Preste João.

The other enterprise was that, on his return entry into the straits of Méca (as he hoped with the help of God to ac-

harbour lies in lat. 24 deg. 4 min. 30 sec. N. [illegible] loopholed wall, formerly of considerable strength [illegible] houses also are falling into decay.

[1] Kaneh. See further on in th[illegible]

[2] Kosair, in lat. 26 deg. 6 min. [illegible] main route to the river Nile, four days' journey [illegible] formerly used by passengers travelling overland [illegible] India.

THE CROSS WHICH AFONSO DALBOQUERQUE SAW IN THE SKY.

From the Edition of 1774, Part IV. p. 70.

complish very soon), he had a mind to fit out an expedition of four hundred horsemen in *taforeas*, disembark them in the harbour of Liumbo, march rapidly to the temple of Méca,[1] and strip it of all its treasures, for they were, indeed, many; taking as well the body of its false prophet, and conveying it away, with a view to ransoming the Holy Temple of Jerusalem in exchange for it. This could have been carried out very easily, for it is but a day and a half distant from Midina, where his bones lie, and that is but a small place, with no one in it except a few Moors who are accounted saints, with painted finger-nails,[2] and maintained by alms sent to them from Cairo and from the Xeque Parcati, who used to be lord of that territory. For, with three hundred horsemen of the Alarves, without arms, none would dare to attack our party, and to get succour from Cairo would take them thirty or forty days, for they would have to get ready a large transport service of caravans of camels carrying water and provisions for their men, because the country round about is nothing but sand and desert, and without water. Much less could help be obtained, for by the time that the news of our entry into Midina had reached Cairo, we should have all returned to the port of Liumbo, and re-embarked.

From the Island of Mium, which lies at the entry of the straits, as I have already said, as one goes along the shore of the territory of the Preste João as far as Dalaca,[3] two

[1] Méca here must be an error for Midina or Medina. Jiddah or Judá is the port of Mecca, and the body of Mahomet does not lie in that city, but at Medina, of which city Liumbo, that is Yenbo, is the proper port.

[2] *Com as unhas alfenadas.* The *alfena* is considered by Vieyra to be the privet plant. Perhaps a stain was made from the juice of the berries. The expression is clearly one of contempt; the last word, however, may be connected with *alfenim* a long and slender roll of sugared paste used in Arabic pharmacy; hence the term *homem de alfenim*, a slender, delicate, or dainty man.

[3] Dahalak Bank and Islands, lying between the parallel of 15 deg. 25 min. N. and 16 deg. 38 min. N.

Moorish lords are rulers of the country, one of whom is called Azali, and the other Dancali. From Dalaca, as far as Maçuá,[1] Çuaquem[2] and Arquico,[3] lies the land of the Preste João, whose lordship is extended along the coasts of the interior country of Magadoxo and Çofala; on this further side of the Red Sea, it is extended over against Cairo as far as Çuaquem; and in the interior it is bounded by Nuba,[4] and the land of the Moors called *Ajaje*,[5] from which site comes the gold to Çuaquem, in little square blocks like dice. The Abyssinians only call the Preste João by the name of Elati, which is the name of "Emperor".

From Çuaquem, as far as Coçaer, the land is inhabited by bands of Alarves, a people rich in horses, and most of them armed. Coçaer lies on the shore of the Red Sea; it is a large city,[6] but depopulated, with old buildings of masonry, and ruins, churches having marks of crosses on the walls, and inscription in Greek letters, from which it appears that at some time or other it was inhabited by Christians. On the road from this city of Coçaer, which is situated, as it were, just at the top of the Red Sea, a distance of three days' journey[7] through the interior to the Nile, lies a village, with a few houses called Canaa,[8] through which at that

[1] Not the same as above, Massowah, but Macowa or Makawwa Island, lat. 20 deg. 44 min. N.

[2] Suakin or Sawákin.

[3] Argeego, or Harkikó Bay.

[4] "Ve Méroe, que ilha foi de antiga fama
Que ora dos naturaes Nobá se chama."—*Cam. Lus.*, x, 95.

[5] *Aji* is the most powerful of the Somali tribes, S.E. of Abyssinia.

[6] See plan of Kosair on the Admiralty chart, No. 8*b*, Red Sea, sheet 2.

[7] Four days, according to the *Red Sea Pilot*, 2nd ed., 1873, p. 61.

[8] This is the place called Cana a little further back in this chapter. It is Kench or Kenopolis. Of it, Ebers, in his *Egypt*, vol. ii, pp. 223, 224, says:—"Keneh.....has long since supplanted the ancient Koptos (now Kuft) as the starting-point of the caravans travelling from the Nile to the Red Sea and the harbour of Koseyr. In former times great quantities of corn were exported from Egypt to Arabia by this route, but now the grain destined for Djiddah is more commonly sent round

time the Portuguese and Castilian Jews used to make their route to India. The reason of choosing this route, in preference to that through Judá, was that they were terribly afraid of passing through Méca.

In the interior of this country, between Coçaer and Canaa, there live many Alarves, horsemen and foot soldiers, and, when they were at variance with the Grand Sultan, they used sometimes to cut the bank of the Nile when the waters were rising, and let out the waters along some extensive valleys of their land, in order to be revenged upon him. The Sultan, in order to prevent their doing so great an injury to Cairo, as it would be if he were deprived of the irrigation of certain high-lying lands, which were cultivated round about Cairo, laboured sometimes with the lance in his hand, and at other times with presents, to maintain their friendship, and draw them over to his side.

At the top of all these straits lies Suez, which is a village built with straw houses, wherein there used to live thirty Mamelukes, whom the Sultan maintained there to keep watch upon the hulls of his galleys, so that the Alarves should not burn them, for they used to come down and attack the Mamelukes sometimes; and also to keep these hulls well watered every day in the morning, so that the joints should not open under the heat of the sun, which beats down very fiercely there. This village of Suez shows, by its great buildings, now thrown down and in ruins, that in ancient times it had a great population, and that it must be the site of Sião Gaber,[1] of which the Bible makes mention.

by Suez. The traffic between Keneh and Mecca is still very considerable at the season of the pilgrimage, for many pilgrims from Upper Egypt, Nubia, the Soodan, and the Mohammedan provinces of Central Africa, prefer the route by Keneh and Koseyr, and Djiddah is easily reached from that port by sailing or steam vessels."

[1] A mistaken reference to Ezion Geber, N. of the Gulf of Akabah, not Suez. Cf. Dr. Shaw, *Travels*, p. 322; *Numb.*, xxxiii, 35; *Deut.*, ii, 8, etc.

CHAPTER VIII.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque set out from that harbour for Camarão, and how he was like to have been wrecked on the way.

On account of the necessity which the fleet had for fresh water, the great Afonso Dalboquerque did not remain in that harbour beyond that night, and, having collected the provisions and burned the ships which he took there, he set sail at daybreak, shaping his course for Camarão; and, when he had made his way as far on as the Island of Jebelzocor, he told the pilots that it would be well to stand in to shore, for it was getting late, and the fleet would not make the island until the night was far advanced, and even then he did not feel sure that all the ships could anchor in the harbour. They replied that they had no need to put in at any other harbour except the island to which they were bound.

Afonso Dalboquerque, however, insisted that, notwithstanding this, they must point out a harbour to him, for the wind would drop during the night, and they could not reach the anchorage in such time that the fleet could get well moored. The Rubães then gave the word to stand in to the shore, and proceeded to take up their quarters close to the Arabian shore in twelve fathoms, and there the ships remained during the night. But, when morning was come, they set sail again, and passed close under the Island of Jebelzocor; and one hour before sundown, Afonso Dalboquerque, again ordered the Rubães to take him into harbour, for at those times he was very careful to put in to shore lest any evil chance should happen to him at night.

The Rubães set all the fleet in order, so as to stand in, over against a place called Luya,[1] where there is a large

[1] Loheyyah, or Loheia, in lat. 15 deg. 43 min. N., on the Arabian coast. See plan on Admiralty Chart, No. 8*b*, Red Sea, sheet 4. From the *Red Sea Pilot*, it does not appear that there is good anchorage for ships.

bay, with a headland jutting out into the sea, and behind it a very good harbour sheltered from the east wind. As they were proceeding thus on their course in full sail, one of those Rubães, to show that he had better knowledge than his fellows, told Afonso Dalboquerque to order the fleet to luff[1] as much as possible, for, if they kept on in the tack they were now sailing upon, they would not be able to double the point of the reef; so he ordered the pilot of his ship to keep on sounding with the lead-line in his hand, and steer the ship as was suggested. And the pilot thus making way and sounding at the same time, the ship touched the ground at eight fathoms, and then struck again in four fathoms and a half; and on this reef the ship beat three times.

As soon as the ship touched the bottom, the pilot gave the word to strike all the sails at once,[2] and cast an anchor, and the ship swung back immediately upon the cable, and fell back into five fathoms and a half. At the sight of this accident, which had befallen the flag-ship, Lopo Vaz de Sampaio, D. João Dessa, Pero de Afonseca, Simão Velho, and Fernão Gomez de Lemos, furled their sails and cast anchors, and came up at once in their boats. The other captains, who were out more to seaward, held on their course a good way off, for they were more to leeward, and proceeded to take up a good position where D. Garcia had berthed his ship.

The pilot, finding that the ship held by the cable, got down into his skiff and took soundings all round her; and finding a good bottom, proceeded to lay out a towing-rope to the *Madanella*, which had cast anchor in sixteen fathoms. And, as the bottom where the ship had grounded was ribbed with sand, in a very little space of time they

[1] *Que mandasse ir a Armada toda á orsa quanto podesse.* See Jal, *Gloss. Naut.*, s. v. orza.

[2] *Amainar de ramania;* "*Toute de suite*", Jal, s. v.

managed to float the ship off the bank, but not without great exertion on the part of Diogo Fernandez de Béja, the captain of the ship; for, although he had been severely wounded by a musket shot, which struck him on the breast at the attempted entry into Adem (of which he carried the ball until the day of his death, for it could not be extracted, and was therefore compelled to use a leaden tube, by which a large discharge was kept up), he worked very hard on his part to save the ship; and all the Fidalgoes and Cavaliers that sailed in her helped him, for on such occasions as this all the mariners are looking after their own treasures. The ship, however, proved to be water-tight, and without the least leak, for the strokes which she made on the sand were but slight; and when everything had been set right again, they all set sail, and stood in for the anchorage where D. Garcia was already berthed. He, indeed, knew nothing of this accident, for he had gone on in advance.

All that night the fleet rode at anchor in this harbour, and when morning was come, set sail again and reached Camarão; and just as the ships were standing close in to the harbour some shallops[1] were sighted, sailing out of the port. As soon as they were caught sight of, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered D. Garcia to go in chase of them, thinking it was a ship from Dabul, which was keeping along in front of him. D. Garcia reached the shallops, and found they were barques carrying persons from the island to the mainland, who were flying in fear of our fleet; so he made them strike their sails, and took out of them certain Moors, both men and women, as well as a Principal Xeque, who had hidden himself for fear of the King of Adem. The whole fleet, then, stood in under sail, and anchored in the harbour, where we found a ship belonging to the Grand Sultan, and another to the merchant, without crews—for they had all fled—and two ships drawn up on the beach. The next day after their ar-

[1] *Geluas*; see vol. i, p. 226.

rival the easterly winds dropped, and the west winds began to blow, whereupon Afonso Dalboquerque became very much alarmed, for he saw that it was no longer in his power to get to Judá nor to Suez, as he had hoped to do, for, in the straits, the only winds that blow are east and west.[1]

CHAPTER IX.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque determined to set sail from that place to Judá, and what happened on the way; and of the sign which he beheld in the heavens.

After many days had passed, while the great Afonso Dalboquerque lay to off Camarão, because of the west winds that were blowing, one day during the night the east wind began to blow, so he, desirous as he was of performing the voyage that he had set out upon, sent word immediately to the captains to make themselves ready, for on the following day he was determined to set sail; and when morning was come they all weighed anchor and made sail, and steered out of the harbour between some islands and sand banks—a very narrow passage for ships so large—shaping their course for an island which lies in the broad sea; but just as they arrived off this island the west wind began to blow again, so they all anchored there in a bottom of from fifteen to thirty fathoms, where they remained for many days. Afonso Dalboquerque, annoyed at this westerly gust of wind, and anxious to know what was going on in the open sea, despatched João Gomez in the *caravela*, and Domingo Fernandez the pilot with him, to make their way to an

[1] This is scarcely correct of the winds that now are met with in the Red Sea. See *Red Sea Pilot*, *l.c.*

island lying in the midst of the straits, called Ceibão,[1] so as to see what sea and what wind there might be there, for he could not believe that this was owing to anything else than his sins.

They proceeded on their way, and in tacking once, in and out, they reached the island; and, after taking the soundings all around it,[2] returned forthwith to the place where our fleet was at anchor, and declared to him that they found out there just the same kind of calm weather as there was with the fleet, and the same soundings around that island, but no current in the sea from one side to the other, only the ebb and flow. Afonso Dalboquerque was pleased at the news brought by João Gomez, for as there were no currents in the sea he was in hopes of being able to make one tack out and in again, so as to reach Judá, or, at least, some harbour on the land of the Preste João; but this was impossible, for in the straits one cannot sail by tacking, on account of the shallows, whereat he became much alarmed. The Rubães,[3] seeing him in this state of mind, begged him not to be alarmed, for a change of wind was a very natural thing in the straits; and when a certain star, called Turia, appeared on the south side, two or three days of east wind would ensue, and this would carry them to Judá. With this ray of hope which the Rubães[3] offered him, Afonso Dalboquerque permitted himself to rest there a few more days, and while they were all there lying at anchor, waiting for the favour of our Lord, there appeared over against the land of the Preste João a cross in the heavens, very clear and resplendent, just as is here depicted; and when a cloud passed over it, it was rent into several parts without

[1] Saba, or Zebayer, Island, lying in 15 deg. 5 min. N. lat., N.W. by W. of Jebel Zebáyir, and between Jebel Teir and Cape Bab-el-Mandeb, about half a mile over and nearly round, consisting of a sandy plain with two remarkable hills on it, each of which has a crater.

[2] See Admiralty chart, Red Sea.

[3] Rudães, a typographical error in the text.

touching the cross, or covering its clearness. This cross was beheld by everybody in the fleet, and all with many tears fell down on their knees and worshipped it.

Seeing that sign in the heavens, Afonso Dalboquerque came to the conclusion that our Lord was minded that they should shape their voyage to the land of the Preste João and not to Judá, since it was towards that land that He had shown them the sign of His Holy Cross, and he determined to tack towards the land of the Preste João; but the people in the fleet, like men of little faith, caused him much inconvenience in hope of preventing this. Afonso Dalboquerque, however, commanded that an examination should be made throughout all the ships concerning this sign which was seen in the heavens, and all declared that they had seen a Cross in the heavens, very clear and resplendent, for a considerable space of time. Whereof a document was drawn up which he sent to the king D. Manuel.

When this incident had passed, the want of water being still felt in the fleet, Afonso Dalboquerque, finding himself quite in despair of ever making the intended voyage (as it was now the end of May), ordered all to set sail, and they set out towards Camarão, where they remained during the months of June and July, without rain once during the time, nor having any bad weather when a boat could not pass all over the straits. During the time that he remained there he lost many men by disease, for it is a very unhealthy land; and he ordered that all the ships should be refitted in anticipation of the time that was coming when they should shape their course for India. Now, because the Island of Dalaca[1] is very celebrated in those straits on account of the seed-pearl fishery which is carried on therein, he ordered João Gomez, captain of the *caravela*, to go and see what kind of thing it was, and use the best endeavour he could to get possession of a shallop, so as to learn news

[1] See p. 37.

of Judá and of Suez, giving him a Rubão of the same land, and Domingos Fernandez, the pilot, to accompany him.

As soon as João had started, Afonso Dalboquerque determined to proceed to Zibit,[1] which is a chief city where the Xeque of Adem always stays, intending to parley with him concerning certain Portuguese captives still in his power, who were wrecked in a brigantine which accompanied Duarte de Lemos[2] when he went as chief captain of a fleet on the Cape of Guardafum (whereof Gregorio da Quadra was captain, as I shall relate hereafter so as not now to interrupt the thread of my history), and in order the better to accomplish this business he sent also a Moor, who had been taken out of the Grand Sultan's ship, with his wife and children, a merchant, who had been formerly a captive, and gave him a letter for the Xeque of Adem and another for the captives who were there, promising at the same time that on the restoration of the captives he would give him his wife and children again and set him at liberty.

The Moor replied, that if only he would put him on shore he would do all that was demanded of him; and when he reached Zibit, where the Xeque lived—seven days' journey from Adem—he delivered the letters which he carried, and the Xeque received them; but on the following day the Xeque sent back the Moor without delay to the harbour wherein the vessel which had brought him was lying, escorted by certain men in charge of him, and then he declared to our people, without saying a word about the captives, that if Afonso Dalboquerque chose to restore to him his wife and children, he would give two hundred

[1] Called Zebir in chap. ii, but from the context, there is little doubt it is the same place. Rás Zebid, on the Arabian coast, in lat. 14 deg. 6 min. N., has an excellent spring of fresh water emptying itself into the sea, and is still used as a watering-place on the voyage from Kamarán to the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb.

[2] See note of his character in vol. ii, p. 242.

pardaos;[1] but he said no more, for the Moors who escorted him would not allow him to speak any further, although they showed him a place where he could send off some fresh stores from the land, and from that place they returned to the Xeque, without any further intercourse.

Three days after the vessel had returned with this reply, João Gomez arrived, and recounted to Afonso Dalboquerque how he had reached the Island of Dalaca,[2] and anchored outside the shallows which encircle the harbour, and gone in his skiff to shore; and that the Xeque of the island had sent word to him by two mounted Moors asking what it was that he wished; and he had replied that he came thither in obedience to the orders of the Captain-General of India, who was anchored off Camarão with a great fleet, seeking to know if they would purchase any merchandise in exchange for seed-pearl;[3] and the Xeque had sent in answer to say that there were no merchants in his land, but only men-at-arms; and on receipt of this reply he did not care to hold any more converse with the Moors, but withdrew and sailed all round the island, which lies in sight of the land of the Preste João—just as do the fields along the banks of the river Tagus opposite Lisbon—but he had not crossed over to it, for he carried no definite orders empowering him to do so; and he had met with a shallop in the sea, fishing for seed-pearl, but when he got up close to her, she took to the shallows and sandbanks close by, whither the *caravela* could not follow her, and so got away.

Afonso Dalboquerque was somewhat cheered up at this news, for when the weather should turn out favourable for the navigation, he was determined to sail away to the land of the Preste João with all his fleet. And being thus minded, there came a man-at-arms to him, who said, if his lordship desired to send to the King Dom Manuel an account of what had been done in that part of the world, he would

[1] See vol. ii, p. 95. [2] See p. 37. [3] See vol. i, p. 235.

essay to make good his journey to Cairo, and so proceed from that city to Portugal. At this, Afonso Dalboquerque asked him how he could hope to accomplish such a journey when he did not know the language of the country? The man-at-arms replied, that he had been a Moor, but at Azamor[1] he had joined the Christians, and therefore he could make that journey in safety, for he was well acquainted with the Arabic tongue. Seeing that he ran no risk in this matter, and that it would be a great happiness for the King Dom Manuel to know how the Portuguese were faring in the straits, Afonso Dalboquerque accepted this man's voluntary offer, and ordered that he should be supplied with money for the journey, telling him how to conduct himself, and then gave orders that he should be set upon the main-land in front of Camarão with iron fetters on his feet, so that it should be seen that he was a fugitive from the fleet.

This man reached Portugal in due course, and the king was very much pleased with the news which he brought, and made use of him to carry back the reply. On that very night in which he set forth, while the heavens were quite clear, there came down from the side of the Preste João's land a ray of fire,[2] very broad and very long, which spreading itself along the sky fell down at last in the direction of Judá and Méca, causing great dismay throughout the fleet. The Xeque, also, and all the Moors who were captive there became terrified, for they regard it a prophecy that the Preste João shall give his horses provender within the temple of Méca. This Xeque allowed Afonso Dalboquerque free intercourse with all his people up to the day of sailing, and shewed him many favours.

[1] A town and district on the N.W. coast of Marocco.

[2] A sudden ray of fire in the clear sky is a common form of mediæval wonder, both in European and Oriental chronicles.

CHAPTER X.

How Gregorio da Quadra and the others, his companions, who were captive in the power of the King of Adem, escaped from their captivity ; and what he went through until his arrival at this kingdom of Portugal.

Inasmuch as I have just declared that I would give some account of the Portuguese captives in the power of the Xeque of Adem, who would not take any ransom for them, and would relate how they escaped out of the captivity in which they lay, I thought it fit that I should first of all narrate how they were wrecked. It was in this way. At the time when Duarte de Lemos, chief captain, was lying at anchor with his fleet off the coast of Melinde, a great darkness and storm fell on them one night, and one of his brigantines was driven from her moorings, but no one knew whether the cables snapped accidentally or whether they were cut by design. The captain of this vessel was Gregorio da Quadra, an honourable man, servant of the king D. Manuel. The great current of water,[1] which at that time was running direct towards the entrance of the straits, brought the ship down with it, and when morning broke the crew found themselves opposite Adem.

When the natives of the land saw the brigantine, and perceived that there were Christians on board, they fitted out two *fustas* and took her, and all those who were on board, and carried these men forthwith before the King of Adem, who dwelt in the city of Zebit,[2] the capital city of his kingdom. As the king was an ill-conditioned fellow, and accustomed to treat his captives with cruelty, he gave orders that they should be thrust into a dry cistern, where he kept many other captives of different nations. They had

[1] The currents sometimes have a rate of forty miles a day.—*Red Sea Pilot.*

[2] See p. 46.

already been eight years in captivity, and all were dead, except five when Afonso Dalboquerque was at anchor off Adem. Gregorio da Quadra, being a sensible man, lost no time in learning the Arabic tongue, and could speak the language very well, so much so that the people could not believe that he was not a Moor. And he became a tailor, and there in the cistern he used to make caps; and at length he became so clever in the fashioning of them, that the Moors used to bring him dates and raisins, wherewith all the captives were supported, for the custom in that land is to wear these caps.

A few days after Afonso Dalboquerque had returned out of the straits, making his voyage to India, one of the principal Moors of the city of Zebit rose up in rebellion against this king who held these men in captivity, claiming that the kingdom belonged to him, and came down against the king, and routed his forces and took from him the city of Zebit, setting free the captives in the cistern, and giving them their liberty to go wherever they pleased. And as he had vowed, should Mahomet give him the victory, to make a pilgrimage to his shrine, after all the affairs of the kingdom were set in order again, he made ready to set out in fulfilment of this pilgrimage. Gregorio da Quadra, being determined to go to Méca and wait there for the caravan which comes from Damascus every year, intending to proceed from that city to Baçora,[1] and from Baçora to Ormuz, besought the new king to take him in his company, and he, looking upon him as a saint, was delighted with the idea of his desiring to be of his company, and gave him a camel to ride on, and paid all his travelling expenses.

As soon as they arrived at Medina, where Mahomet lies buried in a sepulchre in the midst of the temple, surrounded with iron gratings, the king and all those who accompanied him began to march around it, reciting their prayers. But Gregorio da Quadra, who was with them,

[1] Basra, or Bassorah, at the head of the Persian Gulf.

remembering the Faith of Jesus Christ, in which he had been brought up, and finding himself in that position, shedding many tears, cried out, "Prophet of Satan, if thou art that one whom these dogs adore, manifest to them that I am a Christian, for I hope, by our Lord's mercy, that I shall yet behold this, thy house of abomination, become a church for His praise, like as is that of our Lady of Conception at Lisbon." And he uttered these words with so many tears, that the Cacizes[1] who were standing by, astounded at his sanctity, begged him very earnestly to take up his abode with them for some days.

Now, as the Damascus caravan had set out just two days before this party arrived at Méca, Gregorio da Quadra decided to cross the desert and try and overtake it, and if he failed to do so, then to trust to the mercy of our Lord to direct him towards the straits of Ormuz. So he told the king that he was desirous of going to pay a visit to the Temple of Mahomet's grandchildren who are buried in Persia, and therefore he would beg royal permission for this journey. The king, who was pleased to have him in his company, took this very much to heart, and said to him: "Whither dost thou desire to go? There is nothing there but desert; and even the birds of that country cannot hold any communication with the birds of this land." Nevertheless, Gregorio da Quadra took leave of the king, and set out upon his journey, not knowing where he was going, travelling for many days along those deserts, with not a blade of grass in them, only heaps of loose sand; and when he had consumed the slight store of provision which he had taken with him, he used to eat locusts and other winged creatures. As he carried no clothing upon himself, except only a piece of common cloth to hide his nakedness, and the sun was fierce, he became blistered in such a dreadful manner that long stripes burst open all down his body, and

[1] See vol. iii, 69.

he became so raw that he could not lie down to sleep, but used to make a pit with his hands in the sand, of considerable depth, and then getting into the middle of it so slept standing. When he felt himself at length thoroughly weakened, and all his energy gone, so weak, in fact, that he could walk no further, he crawled to the foot of a hill of sand and fell upon his knees, and, casting his eyes up to the heavens, besought the mercy of God, saying: "Lord, seeing that I am Thy creature, redeemed with Thy precious blood, and that Thou hast permitted me to escape from the captivity in which I lay, have mercy upon me, and be not willing that I should come thus miserably to my end here in these deserts." Then he began to confess his sins to God, begging Him to bear his soul in remembrance, having quite made up his mind to bring his journeyings to a close at that spot. But while he was uttering these words, and many others of the same kind, he was lifted up off the ground, and borne up on to the top of the sand hill, where those who bore him left him without his seeing who they were; and, remaining in this state, he looked down and beheld a camel, and going a little further he caught sight of a Moor; then, making his way towards him, he came up with the caravan, which had halted at that spot to take in water, for this spot happened to be one of the watering places of the route.

The Moors of the caravan were astounded when they saw, as they thought, men in those deserts, and decided that he must be a saint; they took him in among them, and healed the raw places with which he was afflicted, his body being entirely covered with open sores; then they gave him a garment to cover him, and inquired of him whence he came, and how he had come to be in that place. Gregorio da Quadra replied with a narrative of all that he had gone through, showing how he was engaged on a pilgrimage to the sacred bodies buried in Persia. So when

the caravan party had accomplished their taking-in of water, they set forth again on the journey, and reached Babylonia, and there they parted company with him, and made their way to Damascus. Gregorio da Quadra, however, reached Baçora, and embarked in a *terrada*[1] (or small Indian man-of-war), which was bound to Ormuz, in company with other Moors; and when he arrived at the gate of our fortress, he asked what day it was. He was told that it was Thursday in Passion week.[2] Then he threw himself down on the ground, and shedding many tears, gave thanks to our Lord who had brought him safely to the land of Christians on that day. D. Garcia de Coutinho, captain of the fortress, when he saw him, was very much astonished, and inquired of him the way he had taken. Thereupon, Gregorio da Quadra recounted all that had taken place with him; and that before Afonso Dalboquerque had arrived off Adem with his fleet, he had tried to escape with four companions—for all the others were dead by that time—in a shallop; but when they got out to sea they were retaken, and something was given them to eat which intoxicated them; and while they were insensible for three days, the sign of the Moor had been wrought upon them;[3] and at the time of Afonso Dalboquerque's departure they were at Zibit, and he knew nothing more of what had happened to them. D. Garcia treated him with great kindness, and embarked him for India with all necessaries for the voyage; and when he arrived at length at this kingdom of Portugal, he became a Franciscan friar in the Capuchin Order, and so ended his days with holiness.

[1] See vol. i, p. 105.

[2] *Quinta feira de Endoenças.*

[3] *I.e.*, they were circumcised.

CHAPTER XI.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque set sail out of the harbour of Camarão for India, and what took place on the voyage.

The great Afonso Dalboquerque, having carefully gathered together all the information he could obtain concerning the affairs of the straits, and being now very desirous of performing his voyage to India, commanded the captains to get themselves ready, and on the fifteenth day of the month of July, in the year [one thousand] five hundred and thirteen, warped his ships out of Camarão harbour, and without touching land anywhere, steered his course direct to the gates of the straits; and having passed through, proceeded to cast anchor with all the fleet behind the island,[1] which lies athwart the mouth of the straits, as I have already shown. And, in order that he might leave nothing unexplored in this voyage, he desired also to find out what islands these were, and what harbours there were in them. One day, therefore, before sunrise, he got into his boat with Domingo Fernandez, the pilot, and D. Garcia de Noronha, Lopo Vaz de Sampayo, and D. João de Lima in theirs, and all together in a party made their way to a harbour which the island possesses, looking towards the land of the Preste João, that makes a large bay,[2] eating away, as it were, part of the island, and making within itself three smaller bays;[3]

[1] Perim or Meyune.

[2] Perim Harbour, on the south-west of the Island of that name, is small, and divided into two branches, each about eight or nine cables long. The entrance is four cables and a half broad, and has a depth of ten or twelve fathoms, extending to within half a cable's length of each side; the north-east arm is considerably obstructed by shoals; the north-west one is better to anchor in as it is clearer. Anchorage may be obtained in it in five or six fathoms, as the *Commentaries* proceed to shew. The bottom is sand and coral, with plenty of room for a ship to swing.—*Red Sea Pilot*, p. 127.

[3] These three bays are well shown on the Admiralty Chart of Perim Island.

the mouth of the harbour being so situated that when it has been entered the land appears to close in around it in such a manner that the open sea can no longer be seen. This harbour has an inside depth of from six to twelve fathoms, and would contain two hundred of our ships. It is sheltered from the winds on all sides.

When Afonso Dalboquerque found himself within the harbour, he disembarked with all his captains and explored a great part of the island, which he found covered with loose stones, large and small, with not a single tree, nor a green blade of grass in it. In a sandy valley, which lies on the Red Sea side, they found a very ancient cistern, built after the manner of a tank, without a covering, choked up and without any water, and a pond also choked up with earth, but they could only see the mouth of it. This island has a lofty knoll opposite the entrance of the straits, and upon it Afonso Dalboquerque ordered that a cross should be set, large and very tall, formed out of a mast, and he inscribed upon it the name ILHA DA VERA CRUZ, *i.e., Island of the True Cross,* in remembrance of the sign which he had seen when he was in the straits. When he had made an end of seeing everything on the island, he withdrew to the boats, and so returned to the ships; and on the following morning dispatched Ruy Galvão in his ship, and João Gomez in the *caravela,* to proceed to Zeila, and endeavour to open communication with the Moors of the land, and observe the nature of the place, and of its people and its trade; but if they found any ships in the harbour, and the Moors would not treat their overtures with respect, then they were to set the ships on fire, and return to Adem and look out for the fleet, for he would lie off and wait there for their return.

As soon as Afonso Dalboquerque had despatched these off, he set sail, and proceeded to cast anchor in front of the city, where were found a large number of great ships; the

island of Cira having been fortified with a wall and many more towers upon it than there used to be. But, in order that the Moors should understand the foolishness of their idea that these preparations added at all to the greater security of their position, without any delay he placed D. Garcia de Noronha, his nephew, in charge of a large party to attack the island, and told the constable to train two *camelos*[1] in two of the principal ships which lay closest to the walls of the island, and from that position to fire, and do as much injury as could be done to those of the enemy who were inside. D. Garcia led off his company of men, and assaulted the bulwarks, bearing himself so bravely against the Moors who defended them, that in a very short space of time he overcame them, and took possession of the island. As soon as he was established within it he ordered his men to set up a *camelo* on the principal tower, and from that point began to fire upon the city, throwing down a great part of the houses. Now, because a catapult, which the Moors had set upon the top of the mountain range, was doing considerable harm to our men who were stationed in the tower, D. Garcia gave João Luiz, artilleryman in charge of the *camelo*, orders to fire as fast as he could at the Moorish catapult, and destroy it, if possible. João Luiz, angry that one of his gunners had been killed by the enemy, opened fire upon the catapult, and got so good a range, that at the second shot he broke it down, and the Moors, to shelter themselves from his fire, built up a high wall of stone and mortar. The merchant strangers, who had ships in the port, perceived the destruction of the houses which was going on within the city, and fearing that Afonso Dalboquerque would give orders that their ships too should be set on fire, sent word to him, that they would ransom them at whatever price he would set upon them; but his answer was that he would not take any price for

[1] See vol. i, p. 73.

them, except only the liberation of the captive Christians in power of the Xeque of Adem, and if this were not complied with he would not save a single ship that should not be burned.

As these merchants never came back with any further offers, Afonso Dalboquerque determined to fulfil his threat that he would set fire to them, so he gave an account of what he had said to the captains; but because the setting fire to them could not be carried into execution without some danger to our men, the captains were all of opinion that it ought not to be attempted, and that it was not worth while to jeopardise the life of a single man in a matter of so little importance, for the Moors were possessed of a great store of artillery, trained upon these ships in order to protect them, and that business could not be carried out so easily, but that it would be like to cost us dearly. When Afonso Dalboquerque noticed all these excuses made by half-hearted men, he determined to execute the business by the sailors alone—whom he indeed always spoke of as "my cavaliers." So he ordered Fernão Afonso, master of his ship, and Domingo Fernandez the pilot, to prepare in readiness for him a hundred men, for with their aid he intended to perform this undertaking and thereby to put to shame all the captains, fidalgoes, and cavaliers of the fleet. So when all were in readiness, this party embarked in the boats, and Afonso Dalboquerque got into his skiff, intending to encourage them with the trumpeters. It was on a Friday at midnight, when the Moors were not on the watch, they ran the boats on shore, and running for a considerable distance along the water side, fell upon thirty Moors who were keeping guard over the ships and killed the greater number of them, and set the ships on fire. But as they were all sodden with water, only three were destroyed. When this was done, the party returned to the boats, and made their way to the ships, highly pleased with their adventure,

without any misfortune happening to any one of them. And when all had returned with this unlooked-for victory, the captains and men-at-arms became so ashamed that they begged Afonso Dalboquerque to give them permission to go and burn the ships which remained, but he would not allow them to do so because the Moors were now on the watch for them.

That very morning Ruy Gonçalvez and João Gomez returned, bringing word how they had reached Zeila, and explored the entrance of the harbour, yet when they desired to open communication with the people of the land, they could get no reply; but some of the mounted men began to skirmish, endeavouring to draw them on, and when they perceived this they would not be provoked, and avoided any conflict; nevertheless they burnt twenty of the native ships, which lay in the harbour, of great size. It was there that the Abyssinian fled off from shore, with Ruy Galvão (as I have already related),[1] and Afonso Dalboquerque sent him to the king D. Manuel to carry information concerning those parts, for he was a man of considerable ability and could give a very good account of these things, because he had been always attached to the Factor of the Grand Sultan.

CHAPTER XII.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque set sail from the harbour of Adem for India; and of what passed in the way until his arrival at the city of Goa.

When all these matters had been brought to an end, the great Afonso Dalboquerque gave orders to his captains to weigh anchor; and thus he set sail away from the harbour of Adem, on the fourth day of the month of August, and with all his fleet hove in sight of Cape Guardafum, and

[1] See p. 26, end of chap. v.

from that headland tacked over to the other side, and bore up opposite Diolocindi,[1] and from this point ran along in sight of the coast, and so at length arrived at Diu, where Miliqueaz[2] received them very kindly, and offered them many presents, which he gave to all the captains. Afonso Dalboquerque remained in this port for six days, and took the opportunity of repairing the ships' boats, which had become very much dilapidated from constant service. At his arrival, Miliqueaz came down at once to pay him a visit on board ship, and they both conversed on matters of no importance.

Afonso Dalboquerque told him that he wished to leave in the port a ship laden with merchandise for sale, and begged him earnestly to order that the Portuguese factor and officers who remained with it should be well treated. Miliqueaz, who was not very well prepared with excuses, replied with ample offers, and Afonso Dalboquerque paid him in the same coin, and then took his leave with many marks of friendship. And when the Portuguese ships had taken in their store of water, he set sail, leaving behind the ship *Enxobregas*[3] with all the merchandise which she carried, appointing to the duty of factor for this business Fernão Martinz Evangelho, and Jorge Correa for his scrivener. When the fleet had got out to sea, Afonso Dalboquerque sent forward Ruy Galvão to proceed to Goa in his ship, and apprise the captain of the city of the coming of the whole of the fleet; and Jeronymo de Sousa to go on to Cananor and Cochim to do the same; and he himself, with all the other vessels, made his way to Chaul, where he found

[1] Probably the latter part of the word indicates that Diolocindi is on the coast of Scinde. See Dr. G. P. Badger, *Travels of Varthema*, p. 104, Cheo, Joah, Joaah, or Kow, one of the estuaries of the Indus.

[2] See vol. iii, pp. 244-246.

[3] *Enxobregas.* The name of this ship appears to be derived from that of a village near Belem, one of the suburbs of Lisbon.—See *Castanheda*, II, chap. cxii, p. 355.

that Tristão Déga[1] had reached that port two days before, and an ambassador of the King of Cambay in company with him. Tristão Déga recounted that he had been very well received by the king, and gave him a letter for Milecopi, one of the principal Moors of that kingdom, manifesting a desire to serve the King of Portugal; for when he arrived at Cambay (he said), he found that the king had gone to the furthest limit of the kingdom of Mandao,[2] with a large array of men, horses, and artillery against the king; and, therefore, he awaited the king's return at Champanel,[3] and there gave him the two letters sent with him, but the king had answered coldly with respect to the matter of Diu, and it seemed that he would not grant the request concerning it, for, after conversation held between them in this business, the king had offered certain other islands along the coast wherein we might build a fortress and make a settlement, but he would not accept them on the part of the Portuguese, because he held no orders from Afonso Dalboquerque to do so. He had, however, learned from Milecopi that Miliqueaz was at the bottom of all this, being annoyed at finding himself kept out of Diu, and as for the business of the Rumes, the king would not allow them to enter his territory again.[4]

After Tristão Déga had given an account of all these matters to Afonso Dalboquerque, the ambassador for the King of Cambay came to pay him a visit, and delivered his credentials, declaring at the same time that the King of Cambay sent word asking earnestly for his favourable consent that he would give permission to him to send a trading company of Guzarates[5] to Malaca, and also a safe-conduct

[1] See vol. iii, p. 245.

[2] Manda, or Mandoo, south-west of Indur, 22 deg. 21 min. N.; 75 deg. 22 min. E.

[3] Champaner, north-east of Baroda, 22 deg. 29 min. N.; 73 deg. 36 min. E.

[4] See vol. iii, p. 245.

[5] *Hum estante dos Guzarates.*

ships to navigate towards those parts;
at the Portuguese had captured the ship
red to him,[1] but now he desired earnestly
querque would give orders for its restitu-
d been captured from him while he was
King of Portugal.

replied that the king, his lord, was
and friendship with the King of
ding in his territory, and for this reason
made war upon him, nor burned his
d his fortresses; but if his ships or
any hurt at the hands of the Portu-
account of his having always taken the
d lords with whom the King of Por-
war, principally the King of Malaca
nuz, to whom he had supplied many
s and filled with men; but he (Afonso)
ded to be unaware of it, so as not to
with him. And to Milecopi, Afonso
many thanks for the care he had taken
king, his lord, leading him to indulge in
ward for his services, and that as for the
he king begged to be restored, he had
refitted at Cochim, and would return it to
ambassador. The ambassador thereupon
ng an account of all that had taken place
querque, sending the letter by one of his
he himself would accompany the Portu-
nvey the ship back; and thus it hap-
he reached Goa he set sail in her for

as Afonso Dalboquerque had received
ation that the ships for Calicut, which had set out
for the straits [of the Red Sea], being

[1] See vol. i. pp. 113-115; ii. p. 122.

very late in their departure, had been struck by a storm, which compelled them all to run for shelter into the port of Cambay, as far down as the Mount of Deli,[1] and one of them had even entered in at Danda, in the territory of Chaul; as soon as he entered the harbour, he sent word to those on land to surrender the ship to him, for it belonged to the Meceris of Cairo, the enemies of the king, his lord, and the Governor of Chaul accordingly ordered that it should be immediately delivered to him. The ship proved to hold about three thousand *quintals* of pepper and ginger. Then Afonso Dalboquerque set sail again and stood off Dabul,[2] where he sent word to the governors to deliver up to him two other ships which were lying in the harbour. But as they began to make excuses, and Afonso Dalboquerque could not delay his voyage, he left Lopo Vaz de Sampayo to keep guard over them with three ships, giving him orders to blockade the port, and prevent any commerce from going on in it until the ships were delivered up to him. In a few days after Afonso Dalboquerque had sailed away, the ships were surrendered with all their cargo of spices.

And because, also, Afonso Dalboquerque had received information that yet another ship of Calicut was in the harbour of Baticalá,[3] he sent Antonio Raposo in a galliot to make his way to that place, and if he should find the governors of the land would not surrender it, then he was to stop the navigation of the place; and Fernão Gomez de Lemos, in another *fusta*, to proceed to Mangalor, where, according to information received, he knew that there were two more ships, and to do the same. By means of this diligent search, Afonso Dalboquerque obtained possession of every one of the ships which had set out from Calicut for the straits that year, and this caused a great loss to the

[1] See vol. ii, p. 217. [2] See vol. ii, p. 166.
[3] See vol. ii, pp. 53, 73, etc.

native merchants. And having thus dispatched these captains, he himself set sail and proceeded to Goa, where everybody received him with great joy; and there he found a present which one of the Ambassadors of the Xequo Ismael, one of the Court of the Hidalcão, had sent him by a servant who had started from Goa with the intention of returning to see him on his homeward voyage from the Red Sea, before setting out for Persia.

CHAPTER XIII.

How Francisco Nogueira gave an account to the great Afonso Dalboquerque of all that had taken place with the Çamorim respecting the erection of the fortress; and of the council which he held with the captain relating to this, and of what was decided upon.

The great Afonso Dalboquerque having at length reached Goa was received by the captain and people of the city with joyful demonstration. Afterwards, Francisco Nogueira, whom he had left, at the time of his sailing away, with instructions to build the fortress of Calicut (as I have already shown), gave him an account of how, on arrival at Calicut, he had delivered his letters to the Çamorim; but in discussions with that potentate on certain occasions, respecting the building of the fortress, he had found him always unwilling to entertain the idea, making the excuse that he could not prevail upon the Moors of the land to consent to the building of it in the position which was asked for, but he would give him Challe for its site; he would not, however, accept this site, and, even if a site had been conceded to him in Calicut, it would have been impossible to build a fortress in it, unless he himself (Afonso) had been there in person, on account of the conduct of the captains and king's officers, who, although they had received orders to assist

him with all their power and aid in ca
yet had secretly worked against the
desire of gratifying the Kings of Canai

Afonso Dalboquerque, who was dete
foot firmly in Calicut, was highly incer
of the Çamorim, and at finding him, as it w
into a new line of policy; and so, desiring
final determination of what should be carried ou
that the captains and king's officers should be sum
and then and there recounted to them everythi
Francisco Nogueira had transacted with the Çam
how, in the ships which had come that year fro
the king had written to him to say that, in re
affairs of Calicut, he must so bear himself, that
Cochim should have no cause of complaint; a
reason of the king's writing in this manner to h
owing to certain baseless statements which the
Canauor and of Cochim had sent to Portugal
that matter, while it was all the time really owi
that the affair was in a critical state, from their
gratify the kings of those places, who were
down at thought of this settlement, which
Manuel desired to establish in Calicut; for
was, indeed, under an obligation to the King
maintain him in his estate, and pay him the a
for the purchases of pepper, but not to maintai
and paganisms, nor to make war on Calicut
king wished him to do so.

After listening to these arguments, which
querque put before them, everyone carefully
matter. D. Garcia and the captains, on the
clared their opinion that a fortress ought to
Calicut, provided that the king would assent
of friendship and mutual arrangement, for, in
great size as Calicut was, and one which

rapidly reinforced, a fortress could never be built by force unless it were at the cost of much blood. The king's officers, on the other hand, held a different opinion, and maintained that it was not to the interest of his service that a fortress should be built at Calicut, because it could not be sustained without heavy expense, which Afonso Dalboquerque ought to avoid as long as possible (for it was economy that the king desired him more than all to practise), but it would be quite sufficient to prevent and destroy the navigation of the Calicut ships if it were decided to cruise off the coast with a fleet, and so intercept the trade; and so they went on, with other reasons, all based upon the abandoning of the intention of building a fortress.

After D. Garcia and the other captains had given their opinions in this business, Afonso Dalboquerque, perceiving how the excuses, that the king's officers were alleging against the erection of a fortress in Calicut, were evidently preconcerted with the wishes of the Kings of Cananor and Cochim, declared that he would never think of carrying on a dilatory warfare with the Çamorim, but would determinedly enter into it in such a manner that he would be able to completely accomplish it, for any other policy would simply result in keeping the Indian fleet always occupied in blockading Calicut, without being free to undertake any other enterprises; but for the fleet to gain any real advantage, it was very necessary to keep peace and friendship with the Kings of Calicut and Cochim, and endeavour the utmost that they should remain friends, and continue to be so, for in these two ports they would always find the spices packed in the way that they liked best for lading the ships homeward-bound to Portugal; and this friendship could neither be lasting nor secure, especially with the Çamorim, unless the king, our lord, had a fortress in Calicut; for, apart from the fact that by its building they would gain great prestige with the Moors, on account of the extensive route which

this war with us had acquired among them, we should drive away out of the land the Moorish agents from Cairo, for they are really the cause of all these troubles; and we should once for all remove the continual bickerings with the Canarins, which are of no use except only to redound to the credit of the Moors, and to cause infinite trouble to the Governors of India. And if those persons, he said, who write to the king, our lord, to the effect that it is not beneficial to his service to build this fortress, would only take the trouble to march through the sea with their weapons on their backs, bombarding the Moorish ships which sail away laden with pepper to Méca, as we have done, they would be delighted enough that we should not have these bickerings. And, he continued, although Lourenço Moreno and Antonio Real had written to the King of Portugal that the building of this fortress would greatly increase the expenses of Portugal in India, yet the sums obtained for the safe-conducts of native ships bound to Calicut for their cargoes would amount to quite as great a sum, if they were closely looked after, so that half this source of revenue would be sufficient to pay the expenses of the officers and men who would have to be stationed there. "Much more," said he, "do I trust in our Lord that when we go to Calicut we shall settle this matter in such wise that, on account of the competition of these two Princes, the merchants of Cochim will come to give pepper in exchange for merchandise, and thus a great service to the king will be brought about."

And to these arguments, which Afonso Dalboquerque advanced, there was not one among his hearers who had any reply to make, for, in a matter so clearly stated, nothing more remained to be said. And, in order no longer to delay putting into practice the matters already finally decided upon, Afonso Dalboquerque forthwith ordered a fleet to be made ready, so that he might go in person and conduct this business. He wrote, also, to the king, sending his letter by

the ships of burden which that year reached Portugal, relating all that had taken place, and pointing out the determination at which they had arrived. The king replied that he had considered the arguments advanced in favour of building a fortress in Calicut, and not carrying on that desultory warfare (which he had often written that he ought to do), and that he now approved of this intention, and that must be done which seemed best for the service; for, as he had a very good experience of what had been already performed, this would of itself be good reason to look upon the counsel now offered as more valuable than that of any one else, even if he (the king) had been in India, and much more so as he was far away from that country, although the reports he had received enabled him to form a very good idea of the position in which the matter stood.

CHAPTER XIV.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque set sail for Cochim, and sent D. Garcia de Noronha to Calicut to settle the terms of peace; and what passed with the King of Cochim on this matter.

Now that all the captains had decided that a fortress must be built in Calicut, for the reasons already detailed, the great Afonso Dalboquerque made up his mind to set sail for Cochim with the fleet, which he had already in preparation, and from that place make a settlement of the business in hand as best could be to this end: and he ordered D. Garcia de Noronha, his nephew, to proceed to Calicut and learn from the Çamorim what course he intended to pursue, and to request him to perform four conditions.

The first was to grant space in the roadstead in front of his *Cerame*,[1] on which to build a fortress, capable of re-

[1] See vol. i, p. 115.

our men and protecting them from trouble, such had suffered in the past.

econd, that he must give whatever pepper was re- or the lading of the ships bound to Portugal, in e for merchandise of various kinds, according to the and prices current in Cananor; and that the factor king, his lord, must be allowed to purchase the which the producers are in the habit of bringing or sale to the market-place, in accordance with the of the country.

third, to repay all the property which the Moors had rom the Portuguese in times past.

fourth, that he must pay a yearly tribute towards penses of the fortress, and those who are in charge of ivalent to one-half of the payments compulsorily on oorish merchants, for the safe-conduct of their ship-

days after D. Garcia had set out for Calicut, Afonso Dalboquerque sailed away to Cochim; and as soon as he arrived, the king came down and paid him a visit; and in the interview between them, which was held in the presence of Gaspar Pereira, Diogo Pereira, and Lourenço Moreno, officers of the factory, the king began to complain loudly that he had not given him any account of this new friendship which he was striking up with the Çamorim, and brought out some letters which he (Afonso) had written to him, and the replies. But, as there was nothing contained in them which the king of Cochim could find fault with, Afonso Dalboquerque flew into a great passion, and said to him: "These letters are, indeed, mine; I will not deny them; and you ought to have the sense to perceive that, in accordance with the charge with which I am entrusted, I should reply in the name of the king, my lord, both to friends and to enemies, especially to those who send word to me to make peace and friendship, and are willing to give

me a fortress in their ports, as the Çamorim does. I know, too, very well how you are plotting to draw over to your side both friends and enemies, and casting about in every possible manner to maintain your kingdom and your lands in security, although you do not tell me anything about it, nor do I ask you to do so, although it would have been a sensible act on your part to have sought to interest me in these matters, for in all your difficulties you seek my assistance; and bear in mind, when the death of your uncle took place,[1] with what haste I came at your call, although my fleet was all cleared for immediate sailing to undertake the enterprise against Goa; and if you are to be at liberty to do what pleases you best, how is it that you do not think it equally right for me to learn from the Çamorim what it is that he desires of me, and to reply to his letters, for all that he is an enemy of the King of Portugal, my lord; and besides that, not to be at peace with him, when it pleases me, for it is in my hands to keep peace with him if I choose, and to make war with him if I choose, and burn his ships if I choose, and destroy all his ports if I choose?[2] But if either of us has any thing to complain of I am the one, and not you; for if I have not destroyed the Çamorim, it is solely because you, and the King of Cananor, whenever you see he is worsted, help him with your forces, and send him ships laden with supplies, sailing under safe-conduct from the king, my lord; for you wish that this argument should be always going on; but if both of you really desire his destruction (as you have often given me to understand that you do), and had ranged yourselves on my side, and on that of the marshal,[3] in the attack on Calicut, he would have been entirely destroyed."

The King of Cochim, somewhat disconcerted at this turn in the conversation, and at the impetuosity with which

[1] See vol. ii, p. 236.

[2] Note the passionate repetition of *se quizer* at the close of these periods.

[3] Dom Fernando Coutinho. See vol. ii, chaps. xii-xvii.

Afonso Dalboquerque put the case before him, replied that he had always been the servant of the King of Portugal, and that all the members of his family, ever since the Portuguese had made their entry into India, had died in his service; and inasmuch as the King of Calicut had been the principal cause of this, it was not likely that he would now turn round and help that king against the Portuguese; and the reason why he had not assisted the Portuguese in the Calicut enterprise (as was alleged by Afonso Dalboquerque) was because he had not desired more help from him than that which formerly the marshal had requested from him, the day when he gave him an account of the matter.

Afonso Dalboquerque answered that the King of Cochim ought to bear in mind that the differences which the Portuguese had in times past with the Çamorim were all caused by their defending for the king his kingdom of Cochim, which the Çamorim claimed to belong to himself; and if his relatives had died in the service of the King of Portugal, so likewise the Marshal,[1] and all those who came to their end at Calicut, died in defending his honour and estate for him, and even he himself had been maimed in the left arm, so that he could not easily raise it to his head.[2] And he would have him to know for certain that if he (the King of Cochim) and the King of Cananor had made up their minds beforehand to support the Çamorim henceforth, as they had hitherto done, so also he on his part was determined not to wage war upon him any longer, so let every one look after his own interests.

When this interview was over, the King of Cochim took his leave of Afonso Dalboquerque, not well pleased at these and other things which he had heard; but notwithstanding

[1] For a review of the historical circumstances here alluded to, see vol. ii, pp. 63, 64.

[2] For account of Afonso Dalboquerque's wound, see vol. ii, pp. 70, 71.

this, both he and the King of Cananor, in order to obstruct this business, did not break off their communication with the Caimais[1] and the lords of the Malabar territory. All this Afonso Dalboquerque learned afterwards from the aged Alguazil of Cananor who lived in Calicut.

CHAPTER XV.

How D. Garcia de Noronha sent a despatch to the great Afonso Dalboquerque of what had passed with the Çamorim, and what was done in consequence of this; and how he went to Calicut and built a fortress therein.

Now, while the relations between the King of Cochim and the great Afonso Dalboquerque were in the condition recounted above, each one endeavouring to improve his position as best he could, there arrived a despatch from D. Garcia for Afonso Dalboquerque, wherein was set forth that on his reaching Calicut he had laid the appointed conditions before the Çamorim, but up to the latest hour no reply to it had been received; and, indeed, he did not think that the Çamorim intended to take the necessary steps to bring the matter to conclusion, for delays were continually brought forward, and every day showed a new aspect of the affairs, so that he had no name to give to these procrastinations.

Afonso Dalboquerque knew very well from which quarter all this proceeded, and determined to cut short this malice as well as he could; and because the Çamorim was encouraged by the native Moorish merchants to continue to delay this business, he thought it wise to make use of the Prince, brother of the Çamorim, who was a devoted servant of the King of Portugal, and consequently wrote to him pri-

[1] See vol. i, p. 3.

vately a letter, in which he said that if he really desired the friendship of the King of Portugal (as he had oftentimes declared that he did), now was the time to give effect to this desire by ordering the Çamorim to be poisoned; and when he was dead, then they would take counsel together in the manner which he liked best. The Prince, who was desirous of peace, and greatly disgusted with the Moors of Cairo, who had taken up their abode in Calicut, because they made it their business to advise his brother the Çamorim not to comply with the Portuguese demands, and being also actuated by a desire of reigning, put into execution the suggestions which Afonso Dalboquerque made to him.

As soon as the Çamorim was dead, the Prince was raised to the throne, and, being in possession of the kingdom, took to himself the aged Alguazil who had come from Cananor, whom his brother would not countenance because he was a true and loyal servant of the King of Portugal; and after the lapse of a few days, the new Çamorim sent word by one of his Caimais to D. Garcia desiring him to write to the Captain-General of India that his brother the Çamorim was dead, and he in possession of the kingdom; and that he would be happy to make peace with the King of Portugal, and give him a site in Calicut to build a fortress whenever he liked; and that he had not, however, given any notice of this affair to the principal Moors of the land, a course which had caused great difference between them, for they all desired to maintain the policy of inflexibility and contumacy shown by the late Çamorim. But as the Prince was a true man, and influenced by his wife, whom he loved very dearly (for although it was the custom of that country to have many wives, and for their sons not to become their heirs, he had only this one, and the children which he had by her had been declared his heirs), and she very desirous of maintaining peace and friendship with the

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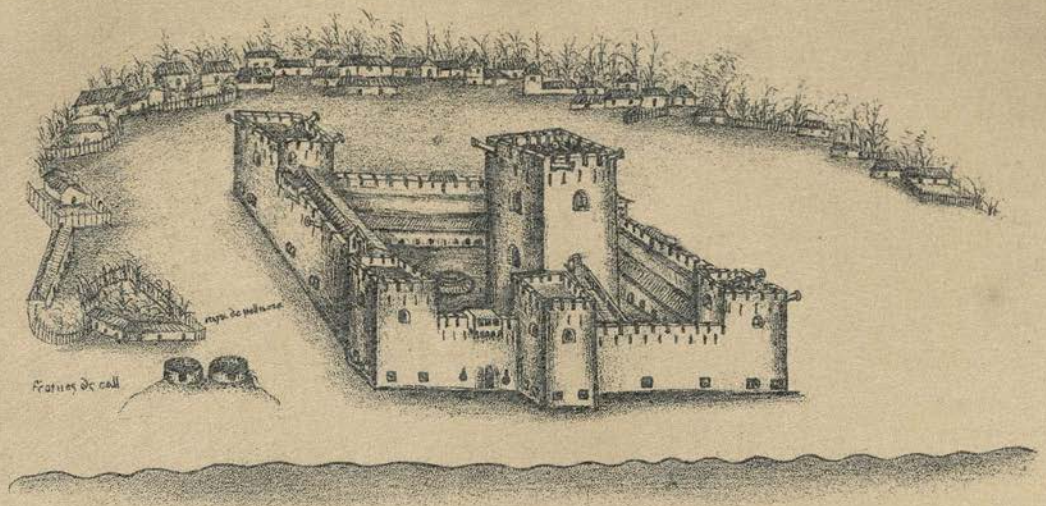


O REY DE CALEQVV CŌ TEMOR QVE OS NOSOS TOMARIA DELE VINGANÇA DA MORTE DO MARICHAL CŌ MVITOS ROGOS AFONSO DALBOQVERQVE LHE ASENTOV PAZ E FABENDO ESTA FORTELEZA ASVA CVSTA QVE ESTEVE EM MVITA PAZ ATE OANO DE 1525 QVE DO IOAM DE LIMA SENDO CAPITAM ALEVATOV GENTE E SE DESFEZ ESTA FORTELEZA EM TENPO DO GOVERNADOR DOM ANRIQVE DE MENESES

Portuguese, which was a great reason why the native Moors of the country yielded to this agreement of peace. As for those who could not be induced to yield, he ordered them to be killed before him to gratify his wife; while, as for the foreign Moors, he gave shipping for them, their wives, children, and property, to go away out of his kingdom. As soon as these troubles, which arose on account of the Moors, had become settled, D. Garcia concluded peace with the Çamorim on the basis of the articles which Afonso Dalboquerque had drawn up, and wrote to that commander of what had transpired, and he, immediately on receipt of the intelligence, set sail for Calicut. After an interview with the Çamorim, wherein great compliments of friendship passed between the parties, he commenced to give his attention to the building of the fortress, which had its foundations laid in the water within the reef, and close to the anchorage for the shipping.

The size of this fortress[1] corresponded to that of Cochim, with two towers on the side towards the sea, and between them, in the length of the wall, he set a wicket-gate,[2] in order that by means of it they could receive assistance whenever it was necessary, without the Moors of the land being able to prevent them. And in this same length of the wall was made a keep[3] of three storeys, very large and very strong; and on the side of the city they built two others, very strong, and having between them the principal door of the fortress, with a bastion for its defence. And when the work had so far progressed in height that it could be defended without difficulty, he delivered the custody of it to Francisco Nogueira, with men in sufficient force for its guard, and made Gonçalo Mendez the factor and paymaster of the works, and João Serrão scrivener of the factory.

[1] See a drawing of it in Correa's *Lendas da India*, vol. ii, p. 330.

[2] *Postigo*, a postern, or small door set in a larger one.

[3] *Torre de menagem*. See vol. i, p. 45.

And as it had now become necessary that he should set sail to put certain affairs in forward condition which had been left over waiting for completion, he took his leave of the Çamorim in a very friendly manner, leaving the fortress well stocked with guns, powder, and supplies in abundance, and sailed away for Cananor; and the Çamorim sent in company with him two ambassadors, who were to go that year to Portugal with a present for the king, D. Manuel, and through them he sent the king a letter of peace, signed by himself and the principal men of his kingdom, and sealed with a golden seal, begging that he would, on his part, send him another in return, confirming the treaty of peace which he had made with Afonso Dalboquerque, and a royal safe-conduct for all his harbours. The ambassadors reached this kingdom, and were very well received by the king, and in far better manner sent back on their way home.

Three things were thus performed by the great Afonso Dalboquerque in this year of [fifteen hundred and] thirteen, whereby he excited the greatest wonder and amazement among all the kings and lords of India.

The first was his entry into the Red Sea, which they held to be a very difficult enterprise, and this caused them infinite vexation.

The second was the delivery to him, when he came from the straits down to the ports of Cambay, as far as the Mount of Deli, of all the Moorish ships which had put into them on account of the storm, laden with spices, which had set sail that year from Calicut to Méca.

The third was this fortress which he made in Calicut, because that was the principal mart of the foreign Moors who traded in India, and by its building their voyages were cut short; and the King of Narsinga used to declare, when he heard of it, that since the Çamorim of Calicut had assented to the building of a fortress in his land by the Portuguese,

the Captain-General of India might as well build another in Bisnaga, if he pleased. This fortress, D. Anrique Menezes,[1] when he was Governor of India, badly advised by his captains, ordered to be thrown down, being besieged he Moors, and after it had been destroyed he was very y; for I thoroughly believe, had this happened in the of Afonso Dalboquerque, that it would never have been royed, even if it had been overrun by the Moors, as was , for to have one foot on the neck of the Çamorim of cut, was the principal object which moved him to labour ntently to carry out the scheme.

CHAPTER XVI.

w the great A' onso Dalboquerque set sail for Calicut, and proceeded to Cananor the news which Fernão Ma tinz Evangelho wrote to him from Diu: how he sent Pero Dalboquerque with a fleet to explore the Persian Straits, and the rest which took place.

When the great Afonso Dalboquerque had taken his ave of the Çamorim, he proceeded direct to Cananor, with e intention of not sailing away from India that year—not, deed, in order to gain rest from his past troubles, but to range and remedy certain irregularities which the Royal ficers had been guilty of in regard to the king's property uring the time when he was away from India. And having due course of time reached Cananor, in a few days a ispatch came to his hands from Fernão Martinz Evangelho, ho was at Diu, wherein he had stated that a shallop in the

[1] Seventh Governor, 25th Dec. A.D. 1524, to 23rd Feb. 1526. See is portrait, and sketch of his life in P. Barretto de Resende's *Livro do Estado da India*, Brit. Mus., Sloane MS. 197, folio 19: "Em seu tempo se desfes a fortaleza que hos Portugueses tinhã em Callecut por nã ser de proueyto Auendo padessido grandissimos sercos pello Samorim = sendo sempre muy ben socorrida do governador."

port had arrived from the straits [of the Red Sea], with a messenger from the Cadi of Cairo on board, bringing apparel for the King of Cambay and for the Hidalcão,[1] and for all his governors,[2] with blessings and excuses in great number, encouraging them, with many words, to make war upon the Christians.

This Cadi of Cairo is one of the principal persons there, like the chief priest[3] of Méca; for the grand Sultan of Cairo confirms the election when a new cadi is chosen, and the cadi in turn receives the confirmation direct from the Grand Sultan himself. News was brought by the same also, that at Suez there was nothing left but the hulls of the galleys, and in Cairo itself the pestilence was raging to so great an extent that twenty thousand persons died every day of it (and this is not very marvellous, seeing that it is affirmed that there are in that city twenty-five thousand streets); that after his lordship (Afonso) had set out from Adem, a shallop had got away out of that port and made its way to Zeila, and related there that the artillery of the Portuguese ships had killed a large number of persons in the city; that the Xeque of Adem had written to the King of Zeila that he must send all the ships which were in his harbours, and all the fighting men whom he could muster for hire; but the king had answered that he must look elsewhere for assistance, because he required all the men and ships he had for the protection of his own land. After this shallop there arrived a *terrada*,[4] coming from the Furtaque coast,[5] and Meliqueaz, after consulting with the Moors who made the passage in her, had recommended them not to tell the news to any one, but he (Fernão), by means of friendly Moors whom he had attracted to his cause, had learned that the King of Adem was advising all the Moors of his king-

[1] See vol. ii, p. 101.
[2] *Guazis*.
[3] *Caciz*. See vol. iii, p. 69.
[4] See vol. i, p. 105.
[5] See vol. i, p. 58.

dom who were at Diu to get out on the first opportunity, for he had certain information that the Portuguese Captain-General of India was getting ready to renew the attack upon him, and, as it was, he had already collected a body of six hundred Furtaquins, taking them by force out of certain ships which had put into his harbour; that the King of Furtaque, on account of this forcible proceeding, was determined to help his lordship (Afonso Dalboquerque) with some men against the king, if he went there; that Miliquez had set out to the King of Cambay's court in regard to the affair of Diu, carrying a considerable quantity of silver and gold, jewels and rich cloths, and two hundred horses, to entice the king and his governors; carrying also, as a present for the king, the sword which his lordship had at a former time presented to him; and that a ship from Ormuz had arrived, bringing news of the death of Cogeatar, who, at the last moment of his life, had counselled the king and his governors to accept the cap of Xeque Ismael and grant his prayer permitting the Portuguese to erect a fortress in Ormuz, for, unless these two things were done, he had great doubts that the king's estate could be maintained.

At receipt of all this news which Fernão Martinz Evangelho sent, Afonso Dalboquerque became greatly alarmed when he considered that his entry into the straits had in so short a space of time effected so great a number of changes. He therefore made ready a fleet of four ships to go to Cape Guardafum and Adem, if weather would permit of gaining any information of what was going on there. And as soon as he had fitted out these ships in all that they had need of, he appointed, as chief captain of them, Pero Dalboquerque, his nephew, and, as captains of the other ships, Ruy Galvão, Antonio Raposo, Jeronymo de Sousa, and, as factor, Tristão Déga, and João Teixeira, scrivener; and gave them written orders that, in case of weather per-

mitting, they were to go and have a look at Adem, and proceed to winter at Ormuz, and demand of the king the fortress which he (Afonso) had left already begun, in order to store up in it the merchandise which he brought, and also to demand of him the tribute money that had fallen due to the Portuguese last year; and, having finished doing this, to go and explore the straits of Persia, and from that point to make their way to India. As soon as Pero Dalboquerque received the order, he took leave of his uncle, and shaped his course, with his captains, direct for the Cape of Guardafum; and further on I will give an account of his voyage.

CHAPTER XVII.

Proceedings of the great Afonso Dalboquerque with the Alguazil of Cananor concerning certain things which he did prejudicial to the service of the King of Portugal; and how he set sail for Cochim; and of the message which the ambassador of the Xeque Ismael who was in Dabul sent to him: and how Miguel Ferreira was sent in company with this ambassador, on an embassy to the Xeque Ismael.

When Pero Dalboquerque had sailed away, the great Afonso Dalboquerque began to examine into certain irregularities which the king's officers were in the habit of doing in regard to the royal property, and reprimanded them for the careless manner in which they had attended to their charge; and, after having arranged every thing as it ought to be done, being aware that the Alguazil of Cananor was also in the habit of doing certain wrong things prejudicial to the service of the King of Portugal, and of speaking much that was ill of him, because he would not countenance his tyrannous and wicked conduct, and also because he (Afonso) was favourable to the old Alguazil, living in Calicut, whom, indeed, the present

Alguazil had caused to be cast out of Cananor because of his adherence to our side, he summoned the new Alguazil before him, and gave him a golden chain, which hung round his own neck, saying, at the same time, that he would give it to him in spite of the many ill things that he was constantly saying of him; but as for the affairs which related to the service of the king his lord, he would beg him earnestly to carry them out in such a manner that the king's officers should make no more complaints of him, and also not to be sowing discord between the King of Cananor and the captain of the fortress, for if these matters were not set right it would be necessary to punish him with the rigour that his faults deserved; and he must remember, also, that he had been forgiven for his harsh conduct towards Pocaracem the Moor,[1] in depriving him of his horses when he had no better excuse for so doing than that Pocaracem was on friendly terms with the Portuguese.

The Alguazil was not particularly well pleased at hearing these words of reprimand, which Afonso Dalboquerque said to him, and replied that he was greatly devoted to the King of Portugal, and that in all the matters which his lordship had been concerned in with the King of Calicut, he, on his part, had ever laboured to turn matters towards the king's service; and, in so far as related to the horses of Pocaracem which had been mentioned, the fault lay at the doors of the officers of the King of Portugal's factory, and not at his. Afonso Dalboquerque, however, although he had very good information that this Moor was a very bad man, and very inimical to the king's service, dissembled with him because he was just then in high favour with the King of Cananor, and so they managed to remain friendly towards one another.

Just at this juncture of events there arrived at Cananor the messenger from the Ambassador of the Xeque Ismael,

[1] See vol. ii, p. 226.

who was in the Hidalcão's Court. I have already spoken of this man as having come to Goa with a message to Afonso Dalboquerque while he was in the straits of the Red Sea.[1] The gist of his message was to beg a safe-conduct so that he might pass on to Ormuz, and to ask Afonso Dalboquerque to send in company with him an ambassador to the Xeque Ismael. But as Afonso Dalboquerque desired that the man should have an opportunity of inspecting all the Portuguese fortresses in India, and especially that one which was being erected in Calicut, he set him on his way, telling him to travel on to Calicut, and then to make his way to Cochim, for he would send him home from that place, for it was also Afonso Dalboquerque's desire that the messenger should see the numerous ships of burden which had that year arrived from Portugal,[2] and their size, and all the rest of the fleet which was being refitted, and the busy scenes in the dockyards. For, although Miguel Ferreira (afterwards) carried in his instructions orders to point out all these things to the Xeque Ismael, Afonso Dalboquerque nevertheless desired this messenger to be as well an eye-witness of the greatness of the King of Portugal.

And, in a few days after his departure, Afonso Dalboquerque set sail for Cochim in the middle of December in the year 'thirteen; and, when he arrived, he prepared in readiness Miguel Ferreira, servant of the King D. Manuel,

[1] See p. 63.

[2] "Sendo vinte e dous dias de Setembro d'este anno, chegarão á barra de Goa tres naos do Reyno, e por Capitão mór d'ellas João de Sousa de Lima, e outra Anrique Nunes de Lião, e João d'Abreu, da Ilha da Madeira. Estas tres sómente; e outra nao de guerra Capitão Francisco Correa, filho de Braz Afonso Correa, corregedor de Lisboa, que partindo de Moçambique pera a India se apartou da companhia, se perdeo que nunqua mais apareceo; e porque a nao era noua e boa de vela, e nom ouve tromenta n'esta travessa, se presumio que podia auer desastre de fogo."—Correa, *Lendas*, vol. ii, p. 361.

with four changes of saddle-horses, to go as ambassador to the Xeque Ismael, carrying instructions in the terms which he had given on a former occasion to Ruy Gomez, whom he sent on the same journey—as I have already related in the account of the first taking of Goa,[1]—although it did not produce any good result, because, when he reached Ormuz, Cogeatar, Governor of the kingdom, gave orders to have him poisoned.

When Miguel Ferreira had been thus provided with instructions with due care, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered passage to be provided for him and his followers until they reached Dabul, for from that port he would have to go in company with the ambassador of the Xeque Ismael who was waiting for him, and he showed favours to the Xeque's messenger, whereat he was very much pleased. In fact, the man was so struck with the personal appearance of Afonso Dalboquerque, that he desired a life-size portrait of him to be painted, which could be carried to the Xeque Ismael.

The ambassadors then set out together, and Miguel Ferreira with them, but Afonso Dalboquerque still lingered behind a few days in Cochim, attending to various needful arrangements; and when he had set everything in order, he left D. Garcia de Noronha, his nephew, to attend to the dispatching of the ships of burden which were to set sail that year for Portugal, desiring him with earnestness to entertain the ambassadors of the Çamorim in a fitting manner, who were to make the voyage to Portugal in these ships, and to give orders for the refitting of all the fleet that lay in Cochim, so that in the spring it might sail whithersoever the service of the King of Portugal should require its presence; and so he sailed for Goa.

[1] See vol. ii, p. 114.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Of the ambassadors whom the Xeque Ismael sent to the King of Cambay, and to the Hidalcão; and of the origin of their embassies.

Inasmuch as the Xeque Ismael was very greatly desirous of drawing all the Kings of India over to friendship with him, and of persuading them to follow his religious tenets,[1] he frequently sent his ambassadors, in pursuance of this policy, to the King of Cambay, and to the Çabayo,[2] for he knew that if these two, being of superior power and great estate, could only be persuaded, all other rulers would yield without demur to that which he wished to accomplish. Hence it was, that in the year '13, when Afonso Dalboquerque penetrated the straits of the Red Sea, the Xeque again sent his ambassadors to the same kings as before, each one of them being equipped with a hundred saddle horses, and with very richly-furnished tents for their lodging, and silver services of plate for their tables. The instructions which were carried by these ambassadors were to the effect that the kings must accept his cap,[3] [and so acknowledge his supreme power], and cause the especial book of prayer which he used to be read in their mosques. With a similar request he sent another ambassador to the King of Ormuz; and this one, acting upon the advice given to him by Cogeatar—as I have already shown—and also on account of the circumstance that Rexnordim,[4] the Governor of the land, was a Persian by birth, had little trouble in persuading the king in the matter of the acceptance of the cap and the prayer of the Xeque Ismael, and the admission of his supremacy.

The ambassador who was sent to the Hidalcão reached

[1] *Cepta.*
[2] See vol. ii, p. 82.
[3] *Carapuça.*
[4] See vol. i, p. 132.

the city of Calborgate,[1] where he found that potentate, carrying for a present to the same certain horses caparisoned with very rich housings, and brocaded cloths, and Persian silk-stuffs, and some pieces of gold and silver, and emeralds, and a bowl[2] of ordinary turquoise which Diogo Fernandez, *Adail*[3] of Goa, whom Afonso Dalboquerque had sent there, and he happened to be present at the time, declared was quite a marvel to look upon. When the ambassador reached the city, he lost no time in sending a messenger to pay a visit to Afonso Dalboquerque at Goa, as I have said in a former place. The Hidalcão received the ambassador very favourably, and after the lapse of a few days sent him back, giving him a reply to the effect that he might report to the Xeque Ismael how gratified he was at the offer of friendship, but he could not accept any other law or any other prayer than those in which he had been brought up, and gave him some jewels as a present for the Xeque Ismael, and so sent him on to Dabul, so that he might embark at that port; and it was when he arrived there that he sent to Afonso Dalboquerque the messenger of whom I have just given an account.

The other ambassador, who went to the King of Cambay, reached Champanel, and was very well received by the king, but his departure did not end very favourably on account of a misadventure that happened to him in the following way. At the very time when this ambassador reached his

[1] I am not certain if this place is to be identified with Kolapoor, or Kolhapur, an important town in Bijapur, now in Bombay Presidency, lat. 16 deg. 43 min. N.; long. 74 deg. 13 min. E. In that case *Gate* refers to the Ghauts or ridge of mountains along the coast, beyond which lies the city of Kolapoor, to the N.E. of Goa. Kalberga, also called Calberga, Golburga, and Kulburga, appears to be too far distant in the Deccan, although the form of the word is very similar to Calbergate of this text. It lies in lat. 17 deg. 20 min. N.; long. 76 deg. 40 min. E.

[2] *Porcelana.*

[3] See vol. ii, p. 137.

destination, it was but a few days that there had arrived at the Court the eldest son of the King of Mandao, accompanied by certain of his subjects who had wished to follow his fortunes, begging military assistance [from the King of Cambay], so as to be enabled to cast out of his kingdom one of his younger brothers who had risen against him on the death of their father. The ambassador fell into conversation with this young man when he was at Court, and frequently invited him to an evening banquet; and it chanced that one night when they were alone, after the banquet was over, the youth being a handsome fellow, the ambassador laid hold of him, and treated him rudely (for these Ishmaelites are more given to this, if report be true, than any other Moors in those parts of India). The young man began to cry out, and all his people immediately ran in to help their master. The ambassador, when he perceived the uproar, pushed the yonng man out, and barricaded himself in some houses, and began to defend himself from the people who were attacking him. When the news of all this reached the King of Cambay, he sent all his guard and put down the rioting, but not before seventy or eighty people on one side or the other had lost their lives. The son of the King of Mandao, ashamed of what had taken place, went away to the Reys Butos,[1] who border on his realms, and they afforded him assistance against the rebel brother; and, when this man had been cast out of the kingdom, he recovered possession of it.

This kingdom of Mandao[2] also borders on that of Cambay. The people are very warlike, and in all the rajah's towns and villages there are men in garrisons. The former king, father of this youth, used constantly to carry about with him for show seven or eight thousand women riding on horses, with their bows and arrows. They used to go a hunting with him, but in war he did not make use of them.

[1] See p. 106. [2] See p. 60.

As soon as the son was in possession of the kingdom he abandoned this custom, and would not have them any more with him. The King of Cambay, disgusted at the proceedings of the ambassador, made haste to send him away, having very soon shown him that it was no use to try and obtain those things for which he had come thither; but he gave him two elephants, and an animal which is called *ganda, i.e.*, a rhinoceros, and many other articles, in return for the gifts which he had brought, and gave orders to a captain to carry him to Çurrate,[1] and from that port to put him and his baggage on board a ship.

When the party reached Çurrate, the ambassador wasted no time in getting on board a ship, which was just on the point of setting out for Ormuz. As soon as he had set out, the servants made a ship ready, in which they embarked the elephants, and the beast, and all the baggage; but the Moors of the land, not being very well pleased with the request for a ship which the ambassador had brought to them, put a faulty mast into the ship; and, hence, when the ship got out a little way from shore, and felt a somewhat stiff breeze, which struck it, the mast broke, so they were compelled to put back into Çurrate, and from this circumstance the king got his present again. The ambassador, however, at length, made his voyage in another ship, not much pleased, it is true, with the sorry entertainment which the King of Cambay had given him, and somewhat less pleased when he learned the trick which the Moors had played with his servants.

[1] See plan of Surat, or Surrate, in Pedro Barretto de Resende's MS., British Museum, Sloane MS., 197, f. 182.

CHAPTER XIX.

How Miguel Ferreira, who went as ambassador to the Xeque Ismael, arrived at Tauriz, and of the reception which he experienced, and of what took place until his return to Ormuz.

Miguel Ferreira, who had set out for Cochim, reached Dabul, where the ambassador of the Xeque Ismael remained, as well in expectation of the arrival of his messengers, as because he was very desirous that the great Afonso Dalboquerque should send some one to visit the Xeque Ismael, his lord. And inasmuch as this Portuguese ambassador was also accompanied by an ambassador of the Hidalcão, the man was highly gratified at their arrival, for he cared for nothing else than to see his court thronged with ambassadors of all the kings in the world. A few days after Miguel Ferreira's arrival, they all embarked in a ship and made their voyage to Ormuz, where the king showed them much entertainment; and from that city they shaped their course straight to Tauriz,[1] where the Xeque Ismael was staying, and he had been already advised of the coming of Miguel Ferreira by a letter from his own ambassador and by the ambassador of the Hidalcão, who was, indeed, on the same journey. The Xeque Ismael, very desirous of gaining the friendship of Afonso Dalboquerque, because of the great fame which was reported about him, desired to show honour to Miguel Ferreira, and ordered the Lords of his Court, and all his military men, to go and receive him, and bring him into the royal presence before the ambassador of the Hidalcão was introduced. This caused the ambassador of the Hidalcão to become very angry, because the reception which they gave him was not so grand as that with which Miguel Ferreira had been honoured.

[1] Perhaps Taurie, on the Persian Gulf, 27 deg. 41 min. N. lat.; 52 deg. 27 min. E. long.

When Miguel Ferreira was brought before the Xeque Ismael, he delivered the credentials which he carried from Afonso Dalboquerque; and these the Xeque received with many speeches and demonstrations of amity. But Miguel Ferreira had become very ill; that day, therefore, he could not hold any further converse with the Xeque Ismael beyond delivering the letters and begging permission to go and recruit his health; and this was accorded to him, and the Chief Physician was commanded to attend upon him and do his best to restore him to health, under penalty of being beheaded if he did not succeed. In a few days' time, Miguel Ferreira's health began to grow a little better, and the Xeque Ismael sent for him again, and inquired concerning the estate of the King of Portugal, and of the Queen, and whose daughter she was, and of our manner of using arms, and how we conducted our war, and with whom we were at war, and if there were many horses in Portugal; and he asked, also, about the ships and navigation of India, and many other details of the power and estate of the king, D. Manuel, in foreign parts.

To all these inquiries, Miguel Ferreira made reply in accordance with the instructions he carried; and the messenger who had been sent to Afonso Dalboquerque, and who was also present at this interview, showed the Xeque Ismael Afonso Dalboquerque's portrait, which he had brought, and spoke in high terms of praise of the greatness of his Indian fleet and of his ships of burden, and how the kings of those parts of India durst not send their ships outside their harbours without safe-conduct of the King of Portugal. The Xeque Ismael was very much gratified at hearing these things, and at his conversation with Miguel Ferreira, because of the excellent account which he gave about everything, and, ere he dispatched him back home, caused him to be summoned before him on many occasions, and conversed with him upon the estate of the King of Por-

tugal, and on the affairs of India, and the desires which he cherished of the destruction of the Grand Sultan, and the house of Méca, even offering to devote his own person and estate towards the accomplishment of this purpose.

After many days had in this manner been spent by Miguel Ferreira in the Court, he entreated the Xeque Ismael to dispatch him back with an answer, because Afonso Dalboquerque, Captain-General of the Indies, being desirous of gaining information respecting his royal person, had ordered him to return as quickly as he could. The Xeque Ismael was so pleased with Miguel Ferreira, that it was greatly against his inclination that he consented to allow him to return, and in company with him he sent back the same messenger who had come with him, as ambassador to Afonso Dalboquerque, bearing a present of many clothes of silk stuff, and brocades, and horses caparisoned with very rich housings, and several coats of mail, and other arms, which the Persians are wont to use, and two suits made of brocade, trimmed with golden buttons, wherewith they are clothed, and a girdle, target, and short broadsword, and other objects, all made of gold, and half an *alqueire*[1] of turquoises, just in the same condition as when they came out of the mines.

This present, which was of great intrinsic value, Afonso Dalboquerque divided among all the captains, without retaining a single thing for himself, except only the horses, and these, which he kept for the King D. Manuel, he ordered to be delivered up into the keeping of the officers of his factory. But, as the pieces of gold seemed to him to be good, and he looked at them in the light of mementoes of so powerful a prince as the Xeque Ismael, he redeemed them of the captains at his own expense, and sent them to the King of Portugal by the hands of D. Garcia de

[1] The Portuguese *alqueire* is believed by Vieyra equivalent to one peck, three quarts, and a pint, in English.

Noronha, his nephew. When Miguel Ferreira had received his letters of dispatch, he took his leave of the Xeque Ismael, and then, taking the ambassador with him, they both set out and made their journey to Ormuz, being entertained all the way in great style by all the villages which they passed through; and, having at length reached Ormuz, they were well received by the king and by Rexnordim, his governor. And it was while they were staying there, waiting for a good wind to enable them to pass over to India, that Afonso Dalboquerque arrived, with the intention of putting in order the affairs of this kingdom; and he also gave them a very cordial reception.

CHAPTER XX.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque reached Goa; and of the news which reached him from Malaca, and the succour he sent thither; and how Fernão Perez Dandrade gained a victory over the Javanese fleet.

At the beginning of January, in the year [fifteen hundred and] fourteen, the great Afonso Dalboquerque reached Goa, and there he found ambassadors from the Kings of Pegú and Siam, and another from the king's mother, with presents of very rich things, and letters of many compliments, showing in them how much they desired the friendship of the King of Portugal, and wished to make arrangements for carrying on in peace the trade in Malaca; and as he was, on his part, also desirous that the commerce of this state should be widely celebrated among all the kingdoms of those parts, he was much pleased with their mission to him, and treated the ambassadors with great entertainment.

In the company of these ambassadors came Manuel

Fragoso, whom Afonso Dalboquerque had sent with Antonio de Miranda[1] to the King of Siam, to prepare for him a written report of all the matters, merchandise, dresses, and customs of the land, and of the latitude of their harbours; and this report Afonso Dalboquerque sent immediately, together with the presents, to Dom Garcia de Noronha, in order that he might convey them to the King D. Manuel, in the ships of burden that were ready to set sail for these kingdoms [of Portugal]. This Manuel Fragoso delivered to Afonso Dalboquerque a letter from Ruy de Brito Patalim, captain of the fortress of Malaca,[2] wherein he rendered an account of the state of that settlement, and showed how Patequitir had risen up in rebellion with the slaves[3] of Utemutaraja's widow, numbering about six thousand, and with some of the native armed men, who determined to follow his fortunes; and they had constructed a fortress, with very strong palisades, so as to be able to use it as a base for their hostile operations, by co-operation of the Lassamana,[4] or Admiral of the Sea, who was cruising about in the straits of Sabão,[5] intercepting any provisions from reaching the city; and, seeing this, he had dispatched Fernão Perez Dandrade with his fleet, by sea, and Antonio Pessoa, with armed men by land, to attack the palisadings; and although, in forcing an entry through them, they had been exposed to great danger, because of the naturally strong position of the place itself, nevertheless the position was attacked with so much vigour that they got into it by force, after killing many of the enemy; and when Pate-

[1] See vol. iii, p. 156.
[2] See vol. iii, p. 166.
[3] See vol. iii, p. 151.
[4] See vol. iii, p. 87.
[5] The Straits of Sabon and Mandol are very intricate, and, according to Horsburgh, p. 210, are never attempted by European navigators. The former is contiguous to the west sides of False-Durian, Sabon, and the Great Carimon. As both these straits are bordered by reefs, with shoal water in some places, they appear to be only navigable by proas or small vessels.

quitir perceived that he was worsted, he had retired along the River Muar,[1] into the interior, and had sent to beg for assistance from the King of Java, promising, in recompense, to make him Lord of Malaca.

After Afonso Dalboquerque had read this letter, he gathered from Manuel Fragoso how Antonio de Miranda had reached Malaca, and how, when he found that settlement in this difficulty, he had decided to remain there himself, sending forward Antonio de Miranda, with the ambassadors who had accompanied him in the voyage thither; and, at the moment of his setting out, there arrived Antonio Dabreu, who had gone to explore Maluco,[2] and Mendafonso, with all their party quite safe except Francisco Serrão, who had lost his [ship] in the Island of Ternate,[3] and remained there with those who were saved with him, and that he had also fallen out with the natives whom the king of those islands governed, of which, however, I do not give any account, because the end of it happened after the death of Afonso Dalboquerque.

Afonso Dalboquerque having thus, through Manuel Fragoso, received the latest and truest account of the necessitous condition of Malaca, gave orders to fit out immediately three vessels, with a hundred and fifty soldiers, and a large quantity of warlike stores; and of these ships he made Francisco de Melo, Jorge de Brito, and Martim Guedez, captains, for it was his opinion that these, with the larger reinforcement which had already arrived there under Antonio Dabreu,[4] would be sufficient until he could provide

[1] See the Mua River on the chart of Diogo Homem at beginning of vol. iii; also vol. iii, p. 131.

[2] See vol. iii, p. 162.

[3] See *L. de Varthema*, p. 245, Hakl. Soc. Edition.

"Vê Tidóre, e Ternáte, co' o fervente
Cume, que lança as flammas ondeadas."
(Cam., *Lus.* x, 132.)

[4] See vol. iii, p. 162.

the fortress with a captain.[1] These reinforcements arrived in due course at Malaca, and were joyfully received by those who were in the fortress; for, by means of this timely succour of new strength, they were reassured and relieved from the apprehension which the hourly-expected arrival of the great fleet of the enemy produced upon them. It was but a few days later, that one day, at sundown, Pateonur came in sight with a fleet of ninety sail against the harbour of Malaca, bringing with him ten thousand men, not counting the large junks which he left in the Muar River; and in company with him came Patequitir and the Lassamana, and they all cast anchor close to our fleet.

Patequitir, when he beheld the number and powerful armament of the ships, and saw such an unexpected number of fighting men, changed his mind, and gave up the intention for which he had come, which was to disembark and fall upon our fortress, and went to Pateonur and [the] Lassamana, and told them that it was his opinion that it was not the moment for attacking the city, for if they were to disembark all their forces on land, the Frangues, *i.e.*, the Portuguese, would remain supreme on the sea, and could easily set fire to all the fleet; and if the fleet were destroyed in that manner, then they were indeed all as good as ruined; therefore it would be well-advised for them to rally again at their rendezvous on the Muar River, and from that position as their base, wage war upon Malaca. Inasmuch as this advice seemed prudent to them all, an hour before daybreak they weighed anchor and set sail. Fernão Perez Dandrade, who was keeping a watch over their movements, no sooner espied their retreat, than he made a signal to slip the cable of all his fleet, and gave chase to them, and before they could reach Muar River fell upon them, and sent many of their ships

[1] According to Correa, Jorge Dalboquerque was sent as Captain of Malaca.—*Lendas*, ii. 381.

to the bottom, but put to death a large number of their people, many of our own men being wounded, and some killed in the engagement.

Patecuny, being in the van, had gone, while our men were engaged in conflict with his fleet, to return with the greatest possible haste, and as soon as he reached the Mare River, embarked on board his junk, and set sail right away to Java, not at all well pleased at the result of this enterprise; and the Javanese were so dejected and terrified at this defeat—for it is indeed one of the glorious actions that we can boast of in those parts of the world—that they never dared to return again to Malaca. Patequtir and the Lassamana sailed up the river in the same ships which had brought them from Malaca, and saved themselves by taking to the interior country. And Fernão Perez Dandrade returned to Malaca elated with this victory, being there received with great joy by the captain and the rest of the people in the fortress. Of this victory, and of many others which Fernão Perez gained over the Moors, while he held the appointment of chief captain in those parts, I do not give a detailed account, because there are others who have written a good deal about that command.

CHAPTER XXI.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque sent Diogo Fernandez de Beja and James Teixeira as ambassadors to the King of Cambaya, and how they arrived at Cuncate, and set out from that place to the King's Court.

The great Afonso Dalboquerque, at the news which Fernão Martinz Evangelho wrote of the journey of Miquenaz to the King of Cambay's Court, became very disappointed and was much afraid that the proposed treaty of

[illegible] Commander's [illegible]

building a fortress in Diu would not be productive of any material success; and that Miliquez would [illegible] the matter even in a greater degree by his [illegible] in person than he had already done by his letters, although up to this time he (Albuquerque) had great hopes of success, if he could trust the intelligence which Malecon had announced to him through Tristão Déga. And with the intention of carrying out this policy, he sent Diogo Fernandez de Beja and James Teixeira as ambassadors to discuss this matter with the king; and through them he sent as a present to the king, a collar of gold, enamelled, and a dagger with its sheath all gold and niello-work,[1] and a purse of gold and ten *covados*[2] of black velvet, and a piece of green brocade from Persia, and two other pieces from China, and a washhand basin with its double-handled ewer, very well gilded. And to the end that this embassy should possess greater authority than the others—so desirous was Afonso Dalboquerque to make a footing in Diu—he sent as a present also twenty horses and their trappings and silver vessels for the service of his table, and many persons to attend the members of the embassy; and he drew up also written instructions which they were to observe.

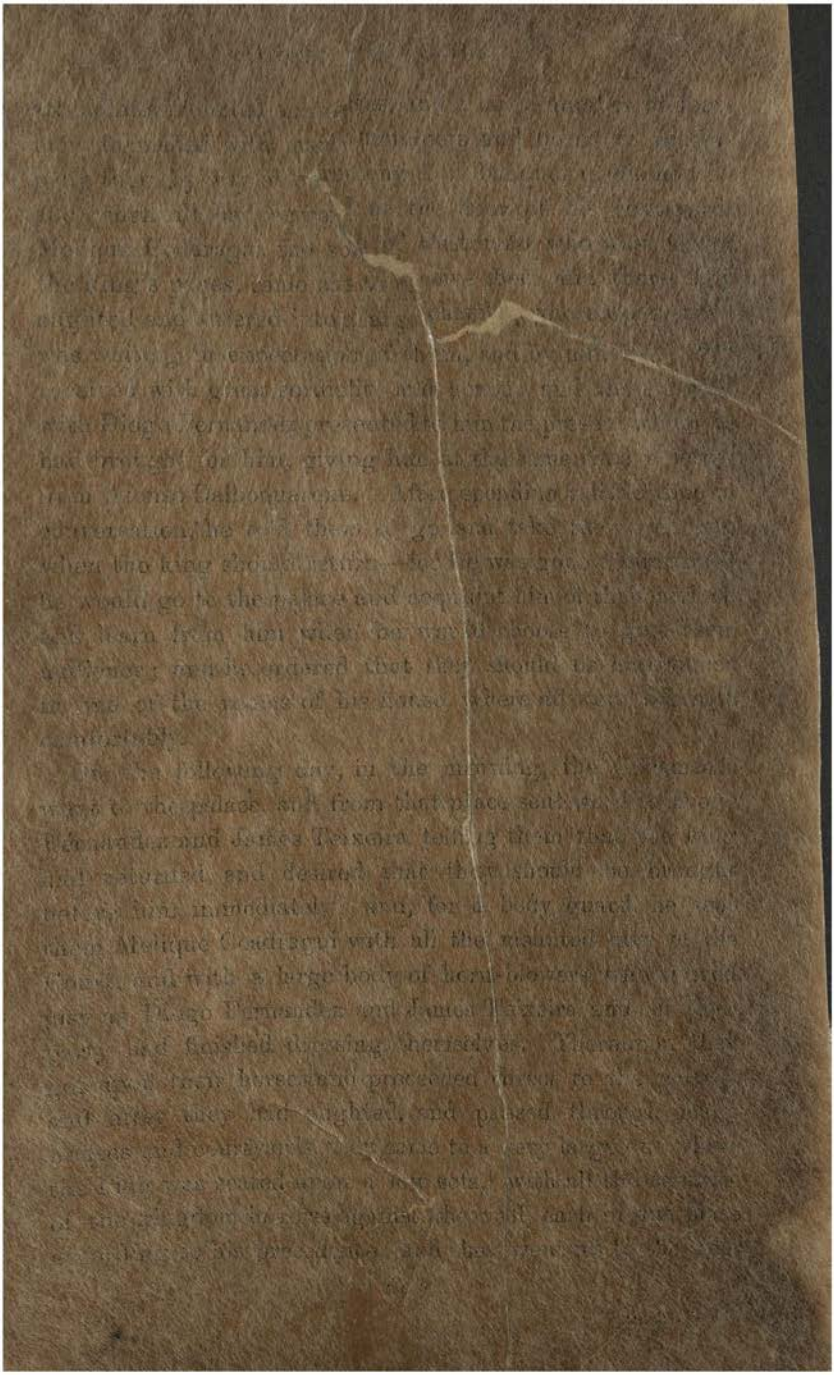
As soon as Diogo Fernandez and James Teixeira had started on their voyage, they sent on before them in advance Bero Queimado and Gauapahur,[3] a Hindoo who was very well acquainted with the Guzarate language, to go and beg safe-conduct from the King of Cambay, that these two

[1] *Amlado.*

[2] See vol. 3. p. 175.

[3] *Gauapahur*, a flower-pot with two handles.

[4] See *Correa's Lendas*, vol. ii. p. 368, where a parallel account of this embassy is recorded. The name of the Hindoo is there given as Gaspar Chatim, and a note on the same page refers to Castanheda, book iii. chap. 47, where the name is written Anagaiate (and, chap. 131, Anagaiate).



querque, Captain-General of India, was hoping to carry on a great trade in the kingdom of Cambay, and in this manner the king would have the Portuguese nearer at hand to serve him, and the native custom-house would produce twice as much revenue as heretofore. Çodamacão replied that up to that moment no mention had ever been made about a fortress except at Bacar,[1] which he had conceded to Tristão Déga when he was there; and *truly as far as* maintaining friendly relations with the King of Cambay and trading with his kingdom, Bacar would be quite sufficient, for the very name of fortress was distasteful.

Hereupon Diogo Fernandez declared that the King of Portugal's men and property could not be put into Bacar, but only in a very strongly fortified fortress, so that it should not be exposed to robbery, nor the men to slaughter, things which it was notorious had been perpetrated in Calicut, Coulão, and Malaca; but if the Portuguese had only had fortresses therein when those events took place, as now they have them, all would have been safe, and peace and friendship would never have been broken. And it was because the King of Portugal desired to maintain friendship on a true basis with the King of Cambay, that he was now sending to request him to cede the sito for a fortress in Din; and besides these reasons, many further advantages were dwelt upon which would arise out of a satisfactory settlement of the business. Çodamacão answered, that out of kindness to Afonso Dalboquerque he would lay before the king all the reasons which had been urged upon him, and he would take all the trouble he could to dispatch them on their homeward voyage as quickly as he could.

Three days elapsed, when Çodamacão sent for them again

[1] Bakar, or Bakkur, Island and Fort in Sinde, lat. 27 deg. 45 min. N.; long. 68 deg. 50 min. E., according to K. Johnston's *Royal Atlas*. It appears to be Béka of the *West Coast of Hindostan Pilot*, 1880, p. 226; but the position given at p. 338 varies considerably from Johnston.

at night (for the houses ran one into the other by communicating passages), to deliver them the despatch which the king had dictated; in which it was shown, how, in consideration of the friendship which he desired to maintain with the King of Portugal, and also, because Afonso Dalboquerque, Captain-General of India, had sent an embassy to request it of him, he would be happy to grant him a site for a fortress in any one of the following places at his pleasure, to wit, Beroche,[1] Çurrate, Maim[2], Dun bes,[3] or Bacar, and let him send him word in his despatch as to which of these places he would desire to accept; but if he would not accept these terms, he should consider that the heart of the Captain-General was not good. Diogo Fernandez replied that he carried no instructions from Afonso Dalboquerque enabling him to accept any other fortress than in Diu, and seeing that he (Çodamacão) was so important a personage, and one in whom the king reposed great confidence, he ought to consider very seriously how much honour and profit he would acquire if the King of Portugal's people were to carry on trade in his land, for by these means the kingdom of Cambay would again become noble, and greatly improve her revenues beyond their present condition, and her ships would perform their merchant voyages in safety without any one doing them any injury. Çodamacão, how-

[1] Beroche, Bharuch, Baroach, and Broach, in the Gulf of Cambay, lat. 21 deg. 44 min. N.; long. 72 deg. 58 min. E. Vessels of one hundred tons can ascend the Nerbudda at high tide to the town of Broach, nearly thirty miles from its mouth, but skilful pilots are necessary.

[2] See plan and description of Mayme in P. Barretto de Resende's MS., Brit. Mus., Slo. MS. 197, f. 202. It is now called Mehim. See *West Coast of Hindostan Pilot*, p. 175, on the North Konkan coast, close to Salsette Island.

[3] Near Surat, called Domus in the *West Coast of Hindostan Pilot*, p. 188. Formerly the channel was deepest here and used by ships going over the bar to Surat. It took a direction on the east side of the bank towards the village Domus on the eastern shore, but it is now only navigable by boats at half tide.

ever, asked him if, provided that the king kept on terms of peace and friendship with the Portuguese, they would hinder the Cambay ships from making their voyages to the straits [of the Red Sea] and to Adem, on condition they did not carry spices. Diogo Fernandez replied that it would not be reasonable for the ships of Cambay to make voyages towards those parts, because they belonged to nations with whom the King of Portugal was at war, whereas true friendship must hold friends of friends for friends, and enemies of friends for enemies. Çodamacem then said that, inasmuch as according to this rule the ships of Cambay would be unable to make their voyages in security to the Straits and to Adem, which were the principal centres of their commercial traffic, what profit would the King of Cambay gain by an alliance with the King of Portugal? and as for the request which the Captain-General of India had made, he had already given it to his slave Miliqueaz; and if the terms of this despatch were unwelcome to them, he could not undertake to broach the subject any more to the king. The answer of Diogo Fernandez was, why were not the Guzerates content with making their voyage to Malaca, Pegú, Martabane,[1] Bengála and Ormuz, and all other places which were under the service of the King of Portugal, and allied in peace with him, without seeking to visit the Straits and Adem, where he was carrying on war? These very places the Captain-General of India had determined to visit with his fleet, and destroy, and then, when he had made a settlement of the affairs of those parts, the Cambay ships might go thither with their merchandize. But as he had declared that he would not trouble the king any further with the matter, let him send him the despatch, couched in the terms mentioned, so that he might give an account of

[1] In Pegú.

himself to Afonso Dalboquerque, for they were determined to be gone. And at the conclusion of this conversation they returned to their house.

CHAPTER XXIII.

How Diogo Fernandez, and James Teixeira took their leave of the King of Cambay, and journeyed away: and what passed until their arrival at Goa.

After a lapse of three days, the Çodamacão sent word to Diogo Fernandez and James Teixeira, that they were to go and take their leave of the king, for he had already drawn up their despatch; and just as they were ready to go, Melique Coadragui came up with a large body of mounted men, as they had done at first, and entering the Palace all of them were presented with *cabaiàs*, which they put on, and daggers and swordbelts,[1] with which they girdled themselves, and in this manner they proceeded to kiss the king's hands, and he told them that they must look to Çodamacão, for he would deliver the despatch to them, speaking at the same time words of friendship, which they were to repeat on his behalf to Afonso Dalboquerque. Being thus despatched, they visited Çodamacão at his house, and he handed over to them a letter from the king for Afonso Dalboquerque, and gave them a present of Cambay productions, and a certain animal[2] because it was a monstrous

[1] *Camarcabandes.*

[2] According to Correa, this was a *Gãnda* or Rhinoceros, "que desembarcando em Goa fez espanto sua vista. Esta Ganda, ... mandou o Governador a ElRey. E porque assy era espantosa a vista da ganda, ElRey a mandou ao Papa; que era alimaria mansa, baixa de corpo, hum pouco comprido, os coiros pés e mãos d' alifante, a cabeça como de porquo comprida, e os olhos junto do focinho, e sobre as ventas tinha hum corno grosso e curto, e delgado na ponta; comia herua, palha, e ossos cozido."—*Lendas da India*, pp. 373, 374.

mainland, and in a very short space of time found themselves lords of the whole country; then they began to build keeled ships, wherein they performed voyages to all parts of India. The second king of this Moorish dynasty at Cambay, a great conqueror, sent certain ships to the coast of Melinde, and from that place they stood away to the Cape of Good Hope, intending so to make their way to these parts [of Europe]; but when they got to the Cape, they found the weather so contrary that they stood in to land, and reached the Island of São Lourenço (Madagascar); and as their ships were no longer seaworthy they stayed in that island, and colonized some of the harbours; and it is believed that the advent of these ships originated the population of Moors in the island of São Lourenço, and as this kingdom of Cambay is plentifully supplied with all sorts of merchandize, there was a constant trade of ships to it from all parts of India.

The king who was on the throne when Diogo Fernandez reached the Court, was a man of forty years of age, married to a Reybuta, a woman of great worth [illegible] Beliirraue, and besides her he had fi[illegible] was a great falconer, and when he [illegible] was always accompanied by three [illegible] horses. The King of Cambay is ac[illegible] of the time in the city of Madoval,[1] [illegible]

[1] "There is little doubt that this city [illegible] Ahmadabad, the chief city of Cambay. [illegible] off the initial *a*, mistaking it for the defin[illegible] explain the final *d* becoming *l* by a typog[illegible] 22 deg. 2 min. N., longitude 72 deg. 32 m[illegible] in his *L'India Orientale*, Roma, 4to., 1676 [illegible] tirando verso settentrione s'incontra Am[illegible] verun'altra cede frà quelle dell' Imperio [illegible] inferiore a Londra girando lo spacio d[illegible] amenissima pianura lungo le rive d'u[illegible] bunissima *Dehezza*, da un muro, che [illegible] strade, e le piazze sono ampie, e selciat[illegible]

to the mountain ranges of the Reysbutos, with whom he is constantly carrying on war.

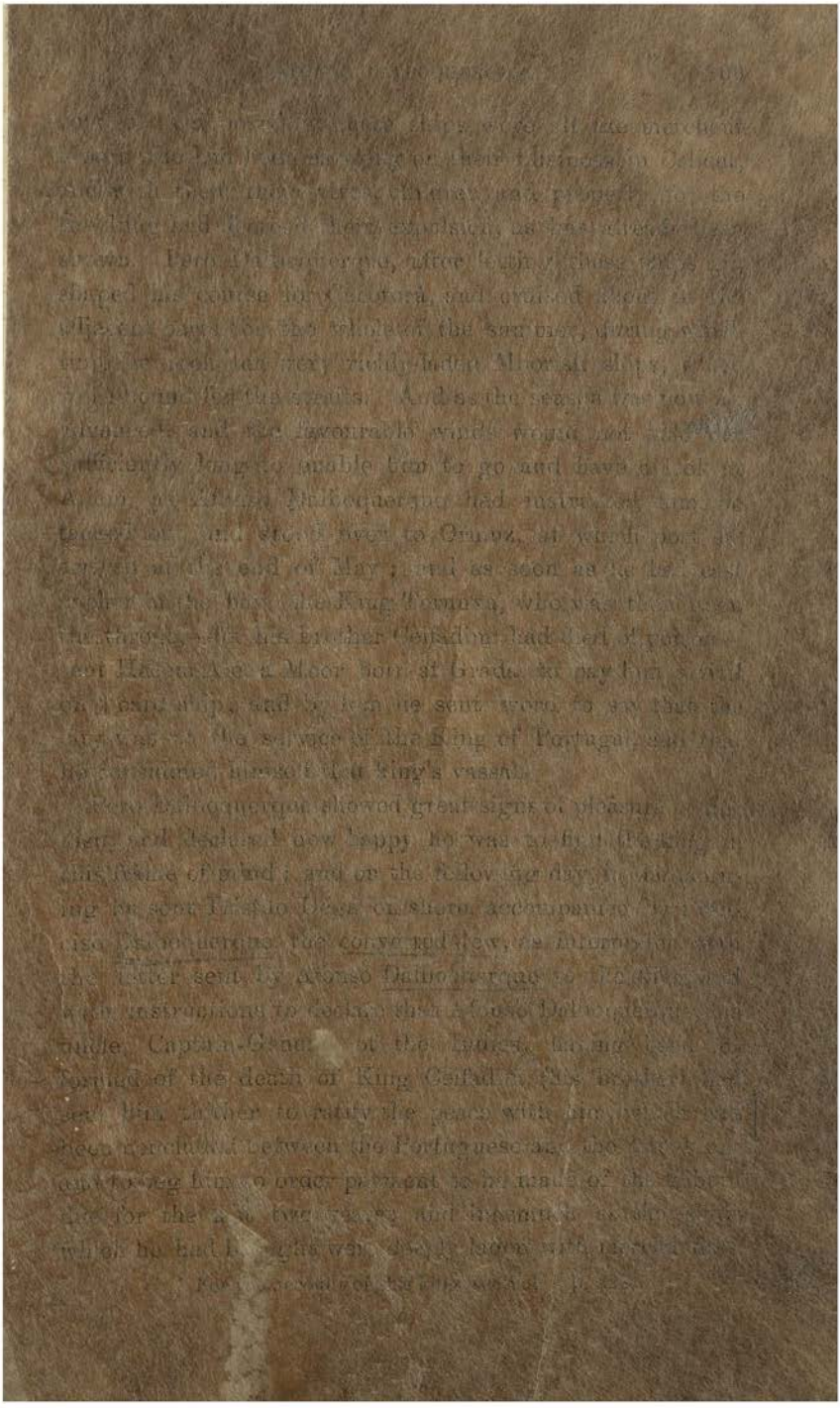
This city is about a good league in length; it is very luxuriant, and supplied with plenty of fresh water, many entertaining sights, and many palatial houses, and it is for this reason that the king spends most of his time there; but all his treasure, artillery, and munitions of war are kept in the city of Champanel, because of its great strength. This latter city has a fortress on a height, where there are certain principal men in whom the king reposes the greatest confidence, always on guard with a large standing force of cavalry. In this kingdom of Cambay, at the time when Diogo Fernandez and James Teixeira made their journey there, were four principal lords who maintained the king's courts of justice and governed his property. The chief of these was Çodamacão, who had been his tutor and taught him to read,—a Turk by nation. The other three were called Dabiul-astur, Asturmaleque, and Asturcão.

CHAPTER XXIV.

How Pero Dalboquerque fared on his voyage to Cape Guardafum; and how the King of Ormuz came to visit him.

After Pero Dalboquerque had set sail from Goa (as I have already related), he proceeded on his voyage straight to Çacotorá, with intention of taking in fresh supplies of water there; and in his passage across the sea he sighted three ships and boarded them; but as they proved to be bound from Calicut, carrying letters of safe-conduct from Afonso Dalboquerque, he let them go and left them to follow their

into molto bene intesi. Fiorisa di mercantie, e gli habitatori sono molto industriosi. Può in un tratto mettere insieme da sei mila cavalli in circa," etc.



was the very thing that the king ought to wish, for the nearer he had the Portuguese to himself by so much the safer would his royal person be against the designs of his enemies, and he would maintain his kingdom more peacefully, and his harbour would become more frequented, and full of all the riches of the world.

The king replied that it was true his brother had granted a site whereon a fortress might be built, but without considering the inconveniences which might arise from this grant; but after it had been commenced, and Cogeatar, Governor of the kingdom, perceived the loss which the palace would sustain on account of it, he would not allow it to be completed, and this had been the chief cause of the differences which arose between Afonso Dalboquerque and the late king his brother; and that the fortress was in sight of his palace, and for this reason, as well as many others, he could not yield up the building; and inasmuch as he had offered to build another fortress in any place they chose to select, at his own expense, his offer ought to be accepted, and the matter not insisted upon any more, for in the letter which the Captain-General of India had written to him, this alternative was conceded.

Tristão Déga replied that, as the king desired to stand by the terms of the letter, and to give another site for the building of a fortress, Pero Dalboquerque, Chief Captain of the Fleet, would accept no other than the hospital or the custom-house, for in either of these two Afonso Dalboquerque had provided for the fortress to be constructed, in order that it might be closely adjacent to the palace, where the men and merchandize of the King of Portugal could be more safely housed,—if he was determined not to give him back his own. The king replied, that the hospital, which Pero Dalboquerque sent to demand of him was a house of prayer, which his ancestors had founded for the reception of the sick, and the pilgrims who come to Ormuz, and it would be

a shameful thing for him to give up a house which had been dedicated to God, for the purpose of converting it into a fortress; and as for the custom-house, that was a house wherein were paid of old the customs and dues of the Kings of Ormuz, and to take this would be the same as to take the sight of his eyes away from him; in no possible manner therefore could he part with either of these buildings, but he would give him any other that he chose to select, as he had already declared. And with this final answer Tristão Déga went back, and related to Pero Dalboquerque all that had passed with the king.

CHAPTER XXV.

How Pero Dalboquerque, seeing that the King of Ormuz would not give him the fortress, nor a site for building another, sent to beg for a house wherein he could discharge his cargo; and then sailed away to explore the straits of the Persian Sea.

Pero Dalboquerque being now well aware of the delays which the king was practising, and finding that he had already been there for some days without achieving any result, sent word to him by Tristão Déga, that as it was his intention, in concert with his Governors, not to surrender the fortress which the great Afonso Dalboquerque had begun, nor grant any other of those sites which he had pointed out for the building of another, he must then, at least, order that some house should be given, in which he could discharge the cargo of his ships, so that the sale of the merchandize could be commenced. The king, demonstrating great pleasure at this new point of the business, ordered that the same house should be given to the Portuguese in which the factory of the King of Portugal had formerly been established, on the occasion of Afonso Dalbo-

querque's first visit to Ormuz, and in it were found still remaining certain things which there had not then been an opportunity of removing, and these were, at the orders of Rexnordim, delivered to Tristão Déga and João Teixeira.

When the houses had been handed over to the Portuguese, the disembarking of the cargo was immediately proceeded with. And as soon as the ships had been unloaded, Pero Dalboquerque ordered them to be set on fire, for although in so doing a considerable sum of money was wasted, which the Moors would have willingly given for them, he gained greatly by their not thus having these ships for their navigation. When this event was over, he appointed Tristão Déga and João Teixeira to remain behind on land as factors of the merchandize, and Christovão Cercado, and Vasco Pirez, scrivener of the fleet, to be their scriveners, and then he made ready with his fleet to go and explore the straits of the Persian Sea (*i.e.*, the Persian Gulf), in accordance with the instructions which he had received from Afonso Dalboquerque; and just as he was on the point of spreading his sails to start away, the king sent word to him by Hacem Ale, begging him earnestly not to undertake the voyage, for his ships were too large and the straits full of shallows and islands;[1] for he was dreading lest any misfortune should arise to them in their voyage. Pero Dalboquerque replied that he was very much obliged to him for this piece of advice, but he could not omit the performance of the voyage, for the Captain-General of India had instructed him to explore the whole of the straits; and had

[1] The soundings in the gulf are deep where the land near the sea is high, and where it is low, the depths are less. The gulf is studded with islands of various sizes. They are commonly of volcanic origin, in part at least. The navigation in a sailing vessel requires great attention. The winds, as in most inland seas, are very uncertain and blow occasionally with great force down the gulf; and in winter, also, in the opposite direction. They set in without much warning.—*Persian Gulf Pilot*, 1870.

also ordered him to find out whether Barem[1] was still in obedience to his commands, and as he was bound thither he (the King of Ormuz) should consider if he could do him any service while he was there, for with that fleet of the King of Portugal he was quite ready to do him any service, and indeed Afonso Dalboquerque his uncle had so ordered him to act; and he would beg him earnestly to get ready the tribute and the golden letter, for as soon as he returned he would have to sail away again in a direct course for India.

When the King of Ormuz saw that Pero Dalboquerque, in spite of the advice he had given him, was determined to enter the straits, he commanded that two pilots should be given to him, who were well acquainted with the navigation of those parts, and letters for his use on the voyage, whereby to procure other pilots, and all other things needful for him; and desired him earnestly to show favour to a certain one of his captains who was journeying thither. And thereupon Pero Dalboquerque sailed away on the seventh of July of this year, and entered through the straits of the Persian Sea, and explored all the harbours, islands, and villages which are contained in it, as far as an island called Lulutem;[2] and when he was as far advanced as Bárem, the winds being now westerly, and the season getting late for returning to India, in accordance with the instructions which he carried, he tacked about and stood along in the tack for

[1] Barem, celebrated for its pearl fishery, is on the Arabian side, now called Bahreïn island, about twenty-seven miles long, north and south, by ten in breadth. The principal town is Manámeh at the north-east corner, the capital of the chief of the great Uttúbí tribe. Captain Kemball, late Political Resident in the Persian Gulf, estimates the total population of the islands at 50,000.

[2] The only island with a name at all approaching this is Hálúl, almost in the middle of the waterway, seventy-two miles S.E. by E. ½ E. from Ras Rekkem, barely one mile across; the highest peak being 180 feet, visible fourteen to fifteen miles. There is a good landing-place, but the island is quite barren. It is visited by the pearl boats; the edge of the Pearl bank being just outside the island.

a two days' voyage and reached Raxel,[1] where he found Mirbuzaca, captain of the Xeque Ismael, who had captured twenty *terradas*[2] from a captain of the King of Ormuz.

Pero Dalboquerque getting information of this, sent word to him that the great Afonso Dalboquerque had sent him to those parts in the service of the King of Ormuz, therefore he begged him of his goodness to order the restoration of the *terradas* which he had taken from this captain. Mirbuzaca, who had no fleet capable of offering any resistance to ours, ordered the surrender of the *terradas* and all the rest which he had seized. And after the captain had received the *terradas* again, Pero Dalboquerque sailed away to Ormuz, where he arrived on the sixth day of the month of August, and the king immediately sent Hacem Ale to visit him, giving him great thanks for the result of the affair with Mirbuzaca respecting his *terradas*. Tristão Déga and João Teixeira also, came off shore immediately, to see him on board, and related to him how that the king had not paid them the tribute, nor prepared the golden letter, which he had told the king he must do, before he sailed away.

Two days elapsed after this, and then Pero Dalboquerque sent a message to the king through Tristão Déga, João Teixeira, and Vasco Pirez, scrivener of the fleet, after the manner of a formal demand, stating that as he would not surrender the fortress which Afonso Dalboquerque had commenced, he must send back in writing the reply to this demand, and he must order the tribute to be paid to them, for he did not intend to return to India without it. The king was unwilling to make any written reply, but he sent back a verbal answer to the effect that as for the fortress, which they were beginning to talk about again, he had already shewn the reasons why he could not give it up; and as for the tribute, he was a poor man; on account of the

[1] This seems an imperfect word for Ras-el-. .... or Ras-al-.....

[2] Small vessels used for purposes of war.

great expenses to which he had been put; therefore he begged him to consider him in this respect, as well as in all the rest which he had told him about the expected return of his ambassador [from Portugal], and this reply he could give to the Captain-General; and thereupon Tristão Déga took his leave of the king.

CHAPTER XXVI.

How Pero Dalboquerque again endeavoured to compel the king to pay the tribute, and what passed upon this matter with him; and how he set sail for India and arrived at Goa.

Pero Dalboquerque became so angry at this reply of the king, that he immediately sent Tristão Déga back again to tell him that as he had requited him so badly for the service which he had rendered him in procuring the restitution of his *terradas*, he might rest assured that he did not intend to go out of the harbour without first of all being paid all the debts which were due to him. Tristão Déga delivered this message to the king, and then, without waiting for any further reply, returned to the ships. The king and his Governors, seeing the determination of Pero Dalboquerque, and fearing that if he remained in this humour he might perhaps set fire to some seventy merchant vessels in the port, which were on the point of setting out for the straits (but having received intelligence that he was cruising about with his fleet at the Cape of Guardafum, they had put in at Ormuz), unanimously agreed, that in order to remedy this state of affairs, they ought to use their best endeavours to pay all they could of the tribute that was due. So the king sent word immediately by Hacem Ale, that as he would not take cognisance of his necessity, nor wait for the return of the ambassador sent to Portugal for a reply, he would there-

fore seek for a loan of some money so as to pay him, but this would be all he could do. Three days afterwards the king sent by the hands of Hacem Ale, ten thousand *xerafins*, begging him earnestly to pardon him for not sending a larger sum, for the merchants were so poor (as they dared not make their voyages out of fear of the Portuguese fleet), that the collection of that sum had only been effected with great trouble; and as for the golden letter, it was being prepared, and when it was finished he would send it to the Captain-General of India.

Pero Dalboquerque, finding the season would not allow him to delay any longer, on account of the monsoon, accepted the ten thousand *xerafins*, and gave orders for gathering together the goods which still remained on land for sale, and re-shipping it; and when it was all collected together, and the fleet ready provided with supplies and water for the voyage, he sent word to the King by Tristão Déga and João Teixeira that Afonso Dalboquerque had learned that the Xeque Ismael was very desirous of getting possession of Ormuz; therefore he, on his part, begged the king of his goodness—since the King of Portugal recognised the necessity of protecting him—not to consent to any armed men of the Xeque Ismael entering into his lands, and to cause it to be proclaimed that no person coming from Persia could pass through to India, for Afonso Dalboquerque ordered that every one taken in this sea, on his way to that country, should be put to the sword; but merchants could go safely, as many as pleased. And in case any ambassador from the Xeque Ismael should reach Ormuz on his way to any king in India, he must not be allowed to take in his company more than fifty persons, for all above that number were to be detained as captives. And because the King of Portugal had given order for the dismantling of the harbour of Baticalá, and desired all the horses from Arabia and Persia to be landed at Goa, therefore

he begged him of his goodness to order all the ships carrying horses, to proceed direct to Goa, for there they would find all the merchandise they required for their return journey; and if this were conceded, he on his part would undertake not to give a safe-conduct to any ship to make a voyage except to Ormuz with merchandise; and he could rest assured that every ship which was not bound for Ormuz, would have its cargo seized, and its crew put to death.

The king replied, that he was quite content that the merchants should go to Goa, but it would have to be on two conditions. The first was, that the above-mentioned penalty should only apply to those who were clearly convicted of abandoning Goa in order to visit other ports. And the other, that he should give orders to treat the merchants with every honour, bearing in mind how dear horses were in Ormuz, and to what great expenses those who shipped them were put. If these two conditions were observed, and the merchants could obtain such a price for their merchandise that they could get a profit out of it, all the merchants would be delighted to go to Goa, without there being any necessity of fixing a penalty to compel them to use that port only.

With this reply, Tristão Déga and João Teixeira took their leave of the king; and, as soon as they got on board, Pero Dalboquerque immediately sent word to the captains, giving them notice that he was about to set sail; and, on the following day in the morning, they all spread their sails, and he shaped his course direct for India; and without anything taking place on the voyage worthy of notice, he arrived at Goa, with all his fleet, on the twenty-eighth day of September in the year [fifteen hundred and] fourteen, and there he found the ambassador of the King of Ormuz, who had arrived from Portugal a few days before in the

ships which came from that kingdom that year;[1] and at the news of the arrival of Pedro Dalboquerque, great was the rejoicing in the city, for it was already known that he had taken some valuable prizes. And, as soon as he reached the land, he went immediately to visit his uncle Afonso Dalboquerque, and gave him an account of what had taken place on the voyage, showing him how the King of Ormuz had accepted the cap of the Xeque Ismael, and ordered his prayer to be recited in all the mosques, and that Rexnordim ruled everything, and had sent orders for all his sons to come thither from Persia; and that a captain of the Xeque Ismael, called Mirbuzaca, was cruising about with a fleet lording it over all the Persian Straits.

Afonso Dalboquerque, happy as he was at the safe return

[1] The British Museum *MS. Add.* 20,902, gives, at f. 17, the following account of the ships sent from Portugal to India in 1514:—

"Anno de 1514.

"Christovão de Brito, Capitam Môr.

"Christovão de Brito, Capitão moor de çinco naos partio a Vintasete de Março; Capitães Francisco Pereira Rusticão; Manoel de Mello, Luis Dantas, João Serrão; E neste anno se fez a fortaleza de Coulão, a que se pos nome Sancthome. E foy primeiro Capitão, e feitor Heitor Rodriguez. — 5 Vellas a 27 de Março.

"E em dous de Julho do mesmo anno partio Sebastião de Sousa por Capitão moor de tres Navios de que forão Capitães Luis Figueira e Pedr' Aluares Franҫes para fazerem feitoria na Ilha de São Lourenço que não teue efeito. — 3 Vellas em 2 de Julho do mesmo anno.

"*Successos das cinco nâos.*—Luis Dantas chegando â India primeiro, que os de sua companhia, foy por mandado de Affonso de Albuquerque a Cambaya carregar de algumas mercadorias para ajuda da Carga, aonde se perdeu, salvandose a gente."

The marginal note to the first paragraph of this extract is:—"Outra Relação diz, que partiu a 9 de Abril com estes Capitães = Mel. de Melo, em *Sat Ma da Luz* = Franco Pereira Coutinho em *Sta Maria da Ajuda* = Luis Dantas, perdido = João Serrão."

"Esta mesma Relãçao diz, que depois de partida a Armada das 5 naôs partirão mais 2 vellas a 11 de Junho para na Ilha de S. Lourenço assentarem trato, e feitoria de que eram Capitães Luis Figueira, e Pedreanes Francês." Cf. Correa, *Lendas*, p. 385.

of his nephew, whereby the needs of India would be supplied, felt displeased when he learned the condition of affairs at Ormuz, and was not slow in making up his mind privately to himself, to go that very year and set the affairs right again, before the Xeque Ismael could set his foot there; and he lost no time in beginning to make himself ready, giving out openly, indeed, that this preparation was being made with a view to penetrating the Straits of Méca. The prize which Pero Dalboquerque brought, was valued at about forty thousand *cruzados* for the crown, as well as a ship laden with merchandise, which could not be sold, and besides the ten thousand *xerafins* which the King of Ormuz had paid as tribute. And although Afonso Dalboquerque was advised by the king's officers to lade a ready-money cargo for Portugal, because the cost would be less, yet, remembering the necessity of his people, he would not do it, but ordered them to set out a table in the public square, and pay every one in cash and merchandise all that was due to him for his wages and subsistence up to that very hour; whereat everyone became very happy.

But before this payment was concluded, it had happened that Afonso Dalboquerque had been very much importuned by a Lascar to give orders for the payment of his wages, for he was dying of hunger; and Afonso Dalboquerque, finding himself unexpectedly left without any cash wherewith to pay him, pulling at his beard said, "I swear by the life that I am living, what would you have me do for you? Here, take these hairs of my beard and go and pawn them." The Lascar had kept these hairs, and when it fell out that he saw the others were being paid openly, he made his way to Afonso Dalboquerque and cried out: "See, here are the hairs of your beard, send and take them out of pawn and pay me." Afonso Dalboquerque embraced the man, and said that one who had so carefully preserved the hairs of his beard, ought with good reason to be well paid; but as all

the public money belonging to the King of Portugal had been paid away, he ordered him to be paid out of his own private purse, and from that day forward they used to call the man Afonso Dalboquerque's Lascar.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Of the arrival of the ambassador of the King of Narsinga, and of the reception which the great Afonso Dalboquerque gave him; and how he sent him back with a despatch, sending in company with him Antonio de Sousa and João Teixeira to settle the business for which he had come.

With the receipt of this intelligence, which Pero Dalboquerque brought, of the present condition of affairs at Ormuz, the great Afonso Dalboquerque made up his mind to go thither that summer with a well-armed fleet, to complete the fortress which he had left already commenced, and to take possession of the kingdom before ever the Xeque Ismael should busy himself about it; and to this end he began to make secret preparations, without acquainting anyone with his intention, giving out openly that his voyage would be to the Straits of Méca, because the King D. Manoel had given him orders to that effect. Just at this juncture of events there arrived an ambassador from the King of Narsinga, called Retelim Chetim, Governor of Bracelor,[1] and of the villages on the edge of the sea, who was a principal man of the royal household, and held in great esteem by the king, accompanied by a large number of native peons, that ministered to him by the way.

Afonso Dalboquerque, having received information of his coming, and of the high position to which his rank entitled

[1] See "Plan and Description of the Fortress and Town of Barsilor" in P. Barretto de Resende's MS., Brit. Mus., *Sloane* 197, fo. 284.

him, commanded Pero Mascarenhas, captain of the Fortress, with a large guard of mounted men, to go and await his coming outside the city. And when he arrived before him, he made a salutation, coming accompanied ceremoniously with many men on horseback, and a captain in command of a body of native peons. And he brought in front of his train four elephants with their castles made of wood covered with silk, and in each of them there sat a Hindoo personage of honorable rank, holding washhand bowls of silver gilt, wherein they carried pearls and jewelry of precious stones and other richly made articles of native manufacture, which the king sent to Afonso Dalboquerque as presents. With all this apparatus they arrived at the Çabayo's palace, where Afonso Dalboquerque was stationed, waiting for the new comers in a large saloon, richly hung around with trophies of arms, and having a canopy of brocade with a throne of crimson velvet, whereon he was seated, and all the captains, Fidalgoes, and noble personages who were in Goa standing up along the walls; for, although the great Afonso Dalboquerque lived on familiar terms with our own people, yet before the Moors and Hindoos of India he always maintained his authority, whence it happened that every one evinced towards him a great esteem and high consideration.

When the ambassador first entered the hall, Afonso Dalboquerque, having regard to the quality of his person, went down to the middle of the hall to receive him, and from that spot both proceeded to the places where it was appointed that they should sit. Thus, the ambassador standing up, delivered to him the present which he had brought, giving him at the same time a letter of credence from the King of Narsinga, in which he earnestly begged him to despatch the ambassador at an early moment. Afonso Dalboquerque told him to go and refresh himself from the hardships of his journey, while he looked at the letter and arranged the terms of his despatch, ordering that he should

be supplied with all he and his people required at the cost of the Portuguese. On the following day, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered the ambassador to be called before him, and told him that the King of Narsinga had written, desiring him to give credit to all that he had written on his part, therefore he desired to know the business on which he had come, so that he might despatch him.

The ambassador replied, that the King of Narsinga, his lord, was very desirous of maintaining the peace and friendship which had been concluded with the King of Portugal, and for this reason, knowing the differences which were standing between him and the Hidalcão, he had determined to go to war with the latter; therefore, if he was still thus minded as he had been, let him send him word by a messenger, for if both were of one mind in this war, it would cost them very little trouble to destroy the Hidalcão. The letter also made mention of the trade in horses; but because the King of Narsinga, after Afonso Dalboquerque had sent Manuel Fernandez and Gaspar Chanoca to press him to a union for them both to make war upon the Hidalcão, was always making excuses without coming to any settled purpose; he also desired to delay the acceptance of this proposal until the king should understand that he had it in his power to destroy him by taking away from him the trade in horses, and giving it to the Hidalcão; therefore he told the ambassador that he would carefully consider the matter, and give him an answer at a future time.

The ambassador lost no time in informing the King of Narsinga of this diplomatic reply which Afonso Dalboquerque had made, and the king, when he perceived that Afonso Dalboquerque did not hasten with alacrity to announce to him that he was prepared to begin the expedition into the territory of the Hidalcão, being a business which he had often pressed him to undertake, came to the conclusion that he (Afonso) must have received some com-

munication from the Hidalcão, so he immediately sent a messenger to his ambassador, telling him to hasten forward his dispatch more quickly than ever, and that he was to say to Afonso Dalboquerque that the king was already on the road with all his military array awaiting his reply.

But when Afonso Dalboquerque saw that the King of Narsinga was leaving no stone unturned to hasten matters to a crisis, like one who desired to bring his business to a decisive issue, from the dread he had of the Hidalcão, he gave the ambassador his dispatch, and fitted out Antonio de Sousa and João Teixeira with ten mounted men and fifty native peons to minister to them on the way, and sent them in company with the returning ambassador to settle the terms of the friendship which was to be struck up between them; and in the instructions which he prepared for them to declare to the king on his part, he said that if he, the king, really desired the help of the Portuguese in their projected invasion of the territory of the Hidalcão, he would give it on the condition that the wages of all the men whom he sent for that purpose should be paid by the king; and as for the trade in horses, he would have to pay, on this point, an annual sum of thirty thousand *cruzados*, and undertake to send for the horses to Goa and pay the dues upon them, and to Baticalá or Bacalor, whichever of these places Afonso Dalboquerque liked best to assign for the purpose. These and other things they were instructed to press upon the king, for Afonso Dalboquerque considered that the time was now come, when he could make an advantageous bargain with the king; for sometimes it happens that a lucky juncture of events is enabled to produce better results for an undertaking, however great it may be, than all the power of a king. When these, then, were ready, they set forth on their way, and by them Afonso Dalboquerque sent a present of very rich articles for the king, which Pero Dalboquerque had brought from Ormuz, as well as others which had come from Portugal.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

How, after the departure of the ambassador of the King of Narsinga, another ambassador came from the Hidalcão to treat for peace and the trade in horses, and yet another from the Hidalcão's mother, who came to hasten forward the matter: and what Afonso Dalboquerque did thereupon.

The Hidalcão, knowing that the King of Narsinga had sent his ambassadors to the great Afonso Dalboquerque, and that he was making preparations with a large force to invade his territory and make war upon him, fearing lest Afonso Dalboquerque and the king should strike up a bargain about the horse trade, which was the principal spring of his defensive policy, sent a messenger with letters addressed to his ambassador, who had been in Goa for several days past (for he had come with Diogo Fernandez, the *Adail*, and João Teixeira, as I have already related,[1] whom Afonso Dalboquerque had sent there, and they returned without coming to any definite conclusion), to hasten forward the matter more than ever, and to declare to him that, since it had been agreed between them that as long as they maintained the treaty of peace, he would not prevent the coming of the Moorish ships with their merchandise to Dabul, he begged him of his kindness to give orders for the punishment of his captains, because, in contravention of the terms agreed upon between them, they were capturing every ship bound for Dabul; for he on his part desired (as he had oftentimes sent word to him through his ambassadors) to maintain a state of peace and friendship with the King of Portugal, and to arrange the trade in horses, and they ought not to take away these [horses] to give them to the King of Narsinga. The ambassador gave a relation of all this, which the Hidalcão wrote to him, to Afonso Dalboquerque, begging

[1] See p. 83.

to be dispatched away; for, he said, the Hidalcão, his lord, imagined that it was owing to his negligence that the matter was left unheeded. But, as it was the determination of Afonso Dalboquerque to dally with him, until he could find out whether the King of Narsinga wished to come to a conclusion, in respect of the propositions which had been laid before him, or not (for Afonso Dalboquerque preferred this one's amity, as he was a Hindoo, if with an honest intention he would busy himself with the conquest of the kingdom of Decam, to that of the Hidalcão, who was a Moor, with whom there never could be any lasting relations of peace because of the intrigues of the Turks who advised him not to keep on good terms with the Portuguese), he replied that he would dispatch him.

After the lapse of a few days, the Hidalcão's mother, who governed that prince, perceiving that the ambassador was delayed, and being desirous that her son should have a treaty of peace with Afonso Dalboquerque, sent word to him through one of her female servants (a woman of great authority, who was married to a Moor who governed the royal household of this queen-mother), with a letter to treat concerning this agreement for peace, making many offers and begging him to dispatch her son's ambassador, who had already been waiting for some time to receive his dispatch, and also that he would give permission to her said servant to purchase a few horses, of which she had need—for in that country all the noble women go on horseback, and for this reason, apart from the necessity they have of them for military purposes, they are highly valued. Afonso Dalboquerque gave the desired permission to buy the horses, and dispatched the servant immediately, telling her to declare to her ladyship that he was busy about a great many important matters, and therefore at present unable to dispatch the ambassador of the Hidalcão, her son, but he would dispatch him as soon as he could.

But because the ambassador strove hard with Afonso Dalboquerque in the matter of obtaining his dispatch, and Antonio de Sousa and João Teixeira had not returned with any message from the King of Narsinga (who was waiting to decide finally what reply he would make), and the time of Afonso Dalboquerque's departure for Ormuz was at hand, he at length dispatched the Hidalcão's ambassador, intending on his return from Ormuz to come to an understanding with that one who would accede to the most favourable terms; and in order to entertain the Hidalcão in the meantime, he sent in company with this ambassador João Gonçalvez de Castel-Branco, very nobly accompanied with attendants on horse and foot; and through him an answer was sent, showing that out of a desire to cultivate his friendship and to be neighbourly towards him, he would give him all the horses that found their way to Goa, on condition of his surrender of the mainland [adjacent to Goa] and the pass of the land of the *Gate*[1]—for the military position of Goa would thereby be rendered more secure—and he promised that the king D. Manuel, his lord, would give all the assurances he could wish for, so that he might rest certain that the king would not send orders to make war with him, nor thwart his policy to the advantage of the King of Narsinga; but in respect of chastising the Portuguese captains who had taken his ships when bound for Dabul, in contravention of the articles agreed upon between them, this had been perpetrated by a galley that had mutinied there, and he was powerless to mete out the just punishment merited by these Portuguese, who, armed with a safe conduct, were robbing the ships of the Moors; for out of fear of being banished by him they would flee to his (the Hidalcão's) camp or headquarters, and there he felt sure they would be very well received by him; and, indeed, it was but a few days ago that four Lascars had seized upon a ship from Cananor, and finding shelter in his

[1] *I.e.*, *Ghaut.*

land, he [Afonso Dalboquerque] could not get at them to punish them as they deserved, therefore it were better (he thought) to leave them to rob the the Moors' ships. This artifice which Afonso Dalboquerque invented was so successful, that no sooner had the ambassador arrived than the Hidalcão wrote letters to the Tanadars[1] of all his lands to seize all the Portuguese they could lay their hands upon in them, and send them to him, even if they were already married and settled in the country; and when Afonso Dalboquerque was at Ormuz, these men were carried away to Goa and delivered up to the captain of the fortress.

The true cause of this complaint made by the Hidalcão was, that Afonso Dalboquerque, irritated at his conduct in giving shelter in his kingdom to certain Portuguese of low degree, and treating them with great honour and liberal entertainment, sent a secret message to Duarte de Sousa, who was cruising off Dabul in a galley, as I have already narrated, that, acting as though he had mutinied, he was to take possession of all the ships of the Moors which might put into that port, even if they carried the Portuguese safe-conduct; and in order that certain Portuguese soldiers, who had risen up in revolt on account of the great inducements which the Hidalcão had held out to them, should not be tampered with, he ordered one of them to be arrested, who, according to information, was going about declaring his intention of deserting to the Hidalcão unless a certain grievance which he had were settled in his favour; and as this man was a clever workman and knew how to cast guns he was ordered to be hanged, the public crier on the occasion declaring that "they are hanging this man because he supposes that he is useful for some purpose". In the meantime, Afonso Dalboquerque had arranged beforehand privately with the Vicar of Goa to come before him with all the clergy, and beg that the man's life might be spared, and

[1] See vol. ii, p. 125.

on the way to the place of execution they turned him back to prison, and the soldier, having by this time repented of his intention, was ordered to be released, and when the ambassadors returned with the Hidalcão's answer to all this, they found that Afonso Dalboquerque was dead.

CHAPTER XXIX.

How D. Garcia arrived at Goa with the vessels which he had caused to be refitted at Cochim; and how the great Afonso Dalboquerque made his fleet ready to set sail, and sent away Jorge Dalboquerque to be captain of Malaca, and what happened on the voyage.

A few days after these ambassadors had set out, D. Garcia de Noronha arrived with the ships which he had been keeping behind to repair at Cochim, and on his arrival the great Afonso Dalboquerque immediately began to fit out his fleet. And inasmuch as the King D. Manuel had laid great stress upon the duty of leaving all matters relating to the protection of any place, on the occasion of the governor leaving India to go to any other place, in such a condition that that place should be able to give a good account of itself if any cause of trouble should arise—(for to preserve what one has gained is more important than to make new gains)—he busied himself about providing all the fortresses of India with men, artillery, and supplies, and everything else that was necessary, in profusion; and commanded D. Garcia to make ready the fleet.

When this was done, he summoned Jorge Dalboquerque to come to him from Cochim, and dispatched him with a fleet of four sail, carrying two hundred men, and all manner of munitions of war that could be required, to go as Captain to Malaca, arranging that Pero Mascarenhas was to return to Cochim and finish his proper term of service, and he con-

ferred the Captaincy of Goa upon D. João Déssa. Now as Afonso Dalboquerque had made up his mind to pass the winter at Ormuz, intending in the ensuing summer to go and capture Adem and penetrate the straits of the Red Sea, he ordered that four galleys should be built and sent on to him at Ormuz as soon as they were finished, fitted out with every thing that was needful for them.

Just as they were now all ready to set sail, the Çamorim sent to ask permission that he might despatch two ships to Adem, but Afonso Dalboquerque made an excuse for not granting permission by saying that it would be contrary to the agreement to which both parties had consented, and that he himself was now on the point of making a voyage to Adem, and did not wish that these two ships should go before him and acquaint the king of his coming. Notwithstanding all these reasons, and others which were given, the Çamorim became more urgent in his request, and when Afonso Dalboquerque perceived this, he made a virtue of necessity and sent word to say that he would be very happy to give them permission for what they desired, provided they did not carry pepper—seeing that they were going to a country hostile to the King of Portugal, his lord—and on condition that the merchants of Calicut should make for him, at their own expense, two large galleys, and this he desired so as to justify his excuses. Nevertheless the merchants, considering the great gain they would make by sending their merchandize to the straits, were happy to make these galleys; and in order to get them made the more speedily, Duarte Barbosa was left to be manager of the works, and a Portuguese carpenter, with a gang of native artificers were set to work upon them, for the intention of Afonso Dalboquerque was, after his entry into the straits of the Red Sea, to convert all the fleet of India into galleys.

Jorge Dalboquerque, having now got his fleet in perfect readiness to set out, took leave of Afonso Dalboquerque, and

sailed out of the harbour of Goa on a Saturday in the morning, and without any notable event taking place during the voyage, he arrived at Pacé just at the moment when the king—who was a devoted adherent to the King of Portugal —was in readiness with his army to give battle to a certain lord of the land who had risen up in rebellion against him. The king, learning the arrival of Jorge Dalboquerque, sent immediately to pay him a visit, desiring him to take his side in the coming attack, for he trusted with the help of the Portuguese to gain a victory over his enemies. Jorge Dalboquerque sent word back to him that he would serve him with a very good will, but it must be on condition that he was left alone with his men to attack the enemy, for he trusted in God's mercy to give him vengeance on them, and the king must post himself on a lofty knoll with all his array, every man with a branch in his hand, for from that spot he would see how the Portuguese could fight.

This having been thus arranged, Jorge Dalboquerque disembarked with all his fighting men, and proceeded to attack the enemy, who were posted in a low lying site, the king and all his people lying behind them. And he fell upon them with such an onslaught that they were dispersed and put to flight, and an innumerable quantity of them slain. Then he rallied his men at the harbour where he had anchored the fleet. The king thereupon commanded his soldiers to follow up after the flying enemy, while he came down to see Jorge Dalboquerque and gave him great thanks and much praise for the achievement—for it was indeed one of the great victories which were gained in those parts of the world, considering the small number of our men who were engaged in it.

Jorge Dalboquerque then took his leave of the king, offering to serve him whenever he had need of his assistance, and proceeded to embark, and made his way straight to Malaca, and on his arrival he took charge of the fortress; and Ruy de Brito Patalim embarked in the same fleet and returned to

India, but when he reached Goa he found that the great Afonso Dalboquerque was dead. Besides that Jorge Dalboquerque was a great Cavalier, he was so very conscientious a man that on the first voyage which he made to Malaca as captain he took ten thousand cruzados, and on his second voyage of return he brought twelve and took ten [thousand] which is not done now!

CHAPTER XXX.

Of the Council which the great Afonso Dalboquerque held concerning the voyage he should make; and how it was decided that he should go to Ormuz; and of the news which reached him when he arrived at Mascate.

The great Afonso Dalboquerque having thus arranged all the affairs of India, and supplied the fortresses with all things they required, and having a fleet ready prepared of twenty-six sail, of which were captains the following:—

D. Garcia de Noronha,
Pero Dalboquerque,
Lope Vaz de Sampayo,
Diogo Fernandez,
Aires da Silva,
Simão Dandrade,
Duarte de Melo,
Vasco Fernandez Coutinho,
Antonio Ferreira,
Fernão Gomez de Lemos,
Antonio Raposo,
Ruy Galvão,
Jorge de Brito,
Jeronymo de Sousa,
Silvestre Corço,

Manuel da Costa,
Pero Ferreira,
João Pereira,
Fernão de Resende,
Francisco Pereira,
João Gomez,
João de Meira,
Nuno Nunez Raposo,
Pero Corço,
Fernãodianes, and
Vicente Dalboquerque,

who was captain of the ship *Nazareth*, having his uncle Afonso Dalboquerque on board,—proceeded to embark on the twentieth day of February of the said year, and after they were embarked, he summoned all the captains to his ship, and with them D. João Déssa, captain of the fortress of Goa, and D. Sancho de Noronha, chief *Alcaide*, there being present also Nicoláo Ferreira,[1] ambassador for the King of Ormuz, who had arrived in September[2] last from Portugal, bearing the king's reply to his mission.

And when all were met together, Afonso Dalboquerque shewed them that he had gathered together that fleet, made ready with all the provisions and munitions which he could procure, and as far as he could gather from the muster rolls of the land there were on board about fifteen hundred Portu-

[1] Of this man Correa gives the following notice:—"Veo n'estas naos (*i.e.*, the fleet of Christovão de Brito) hum embaixador que ElRey d'Ormuz, e Cojatar, tinhão mandado por terra a ElRey com suas cartas de vassalagem, pedindo a ElRey que lhe confirmasse sua paz pera sempre: que pagaria cad'anno, com fortaleza que daria, com condicão que nunqua lhe mais pedissem outra nenhuma consa. O qual messigeiro era homem ganicero de nação, homem auisado, que deu a ElRey muy larga conta de todo o feito d'Ormuz, e d'outras muytos consas da Índia e Turquia, que ElRey lhe fez mercê e a rogo d'ElRey se fez Christão, e se chamou Nicoláo de Ferreira."—*Lendas*, pp. 386, 387.

[2] Correa gives the date of 22nd August.

guese and seven hundred Malabars; and the King Dom Manuel had written to him year after year that it would be to his service if they entered the Red Sea, and built a fortress in Adem, and that very year he had written a letter to him wherein he reminded him of the same duty; and also the King had signified to him how pleased he would be if the affairs of Ormuz were set on a proper footing; and that he had it for certain intelligence that the King of Ormuz, after the death of Cogeatar, had accepted the cap and prayer of the Xeque Ismael, which was a beginning of his coming in time to be lord of the kingdom, and this Nicoláo Ferreira, his ambassador, who was there present, knew better than he did. And, he continued, inasmuch as the King D. Manuel had written to him in a pressing manner upon these two points, he, on his part, desired to gather from them, which of the two enterprises would be most to the service of the country for the fleet to undertake, whether in fact to penetrate into the Red Sea and build a fortress in Adem, or to make sure of Ormuz in such a manner that the Xeque could not possibly maintain his footing in it.

When Afonso Dalboquerque had thus made an end of setting all these things before the meeting, there arose differences of opinion between the parties; for some thought it a better policy to penetrate into the straits [of the Red Sea] and to erect a fortress in Adem, while others thought it better to finish the fortress of Ormuz, which had already been commenced. And in order to avoid these differences, Afonso Dalboquerque desired, before any determination was arrived at, to learn the opinion of Nicoláo Ferreira, who declared that the King of Ormuz, his lord, who had sent him as ambassador to the King of Portugal was dead, and the present governor was a native of Persia, vassal of the Xeque Ismael, having under his command within the City of Ormuz seven or eight nephews who ordered everything, and these had it in their power, whenever they thought fit, to put the

reigning king to death (just as indeed they had served the late king, his lord), and to deliver over the kingdom to the Xeque Ismael; and when once the Xeque was in possession it would be a difficult matter to put him out; therefore as this affair was in so serious a situation it was his opinion that the fleet ought rather to go to Ormuz and make sure of it, for by so doing the service of the King of Portugal would be better advanced.

When Nicoláo Ferreira had made an end of expressing his opinion, Afonso Dalboquerque declared that he on his part had no doubt that the shutting up of the straits was the most important undertaking that could be performed throughout the whole of India, followed by the destruction of the Grand Sultan and the temple of Méca, if a fortress were built in it; but this project must be put off until a time when the necessities of India were not so imperative as to compel the Portuguese to change their policy; and reinforcements could not be got from the mother country under two years' time. And, apart from this, the thing which, more than any other, compelled him to be on the alert to perform his obligations, was the information that the King of Ormuz had accepted the cap of the Xeque Ismael and his prayer, and that Reys Nordim,[1] his governor, was a Persian by birth, a covetous old man in whose power all the treasure and property of the king lay,—having as he had, on his side many sons, and also when he observed the ambassadors of the Xeque Ismael, who were continually traversing India, and the affairs which they were beginning to transact with the kings and lords of that country, and the presents which he used to send them, for it was owing to these proceedings and for many other reasons which he would not mention on that occasion, that in his opinion they ought to determine to go and make a final settlement of the affair of Ormuz, for in that city they would gain large sums

[1] This name has hitherto been written "Rexnordim" in the text.

to pay their necessary expenses, and a set-off for the men's wages, and when this were once carried out to a successful issue, from that time forward he would get more ease and opportunity for penetrating the Red Sea and destroying the fleet of the Sultan, and temple of Méca.

And inasmuch as the rest of the captains were of the same opinion, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered a formal document of assent to be drawn up, which was signed by every one; and after João Déssa, captain of the city [of Goa] had taken his leave, on the following day, which was Ash Wednesday, the twenty-first of the said month of February, Afonso Dalboquerque set sail with all his fleet, and on the day [of the Annunciation] of Our Lady in March, they were over against Curiate[1] and there they found a fleet belonging to the King of Ormuz, which was cruising about to guard the coast of the Nautaques, and this, when it perceived our fleet, stood off on the other tack. But Afonso Dalboquerque kept on his course direct to Mascate[2] and cast anchor there, to take in supplies and water. The rulers of the land, when they saw our fleet, remembered the lesson they had learned[3] and came down at once to pay him a visit, with a fine present. He asked them for news from Ormuz, and they told him that about a month or two back, Reys Hamed, a Persian Moor, nephew of Reys Nordim, who was governor of the kingdom, had risen up in rebellion, and seized the fortress and the king's palace, and made the king a prisoner, together with Reys Nordim and his sons, and was now in absolute possession of the land; and that certain letters which had reached that port, had come already under seal of the new ruler, who had in Ormuz five hundred Persian archers and his three brothers as well; and as for nephews and cousins-german there would be in Ormuz as many as five-and-twenty families, whom he had caused to come and live there from

[1] See vol. i, p. 67. [2] See vol. i, p. 72.
[3] See vol. i, chap. xxiii.

Persia. At this news which the rulers gave him, Afonso Dalboquerque became somewhat disconcerted, because it seemed to him that the affairs of Ormuz were not so easy to arrange as he had thought, particularly when he bore in mind he had written to the King D. Manuel that he would take in hand and finish the affairs of Ormuz, for it was now like to be lost if he did not hasten up and save the city.

CHAPTER XXXI.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque set out from Mascate and reached Ormuz; and of the messages which he sent to the king, and of the rest which took place.

After the great Afonso Dalboquerque had been informed by the Rulers of Mascate of all these affairs which I have mentioned, he ordered that some pieces of stuff which he had brought with him should be given to them, and having taken in water and supplies, he took his leave of them and sailed away direct to Ormuz without touching at any other place. On arrival he ordered that a salute should be fired in honour of the city, with all the artillery. Reys Hamed became so alarmed at the sight of the fleet and the soldiers on board the shipping, that he lost no time in sending Hacem Ale to pay a formal visit, on the part of the king, with a present of provisions; and in company with this personage came Miguel Ferreira, whom Afonso Dalboquerque had sent as ambassador to the Xeque Ismael, as I have already related. This Miguel had been staying there for some days, as well as an ambassador of the Xeque Ismael, who had accompanied him, waiting for favourable weather to make the passage to India; and after Miguel Ferreira had given a detailed account of his journey, Afonso Dalboquerque asked him how affairs were going on at Ormuz, and

he corroborated all that the Governor of Muscate had told him, and that Reys Hamed, as soon as he caught sight of the Portuguese ships in the harbour, had given the king more liberty and set free Reys Nordim and his sons from the prison in which they had been confined by his orders; and that only a few days back there had arrived at Ormuz Abrahem Beque, one of the principal captains of the Xeque Ismael, accompanied by six or seven serving men, leaving the rest of his party and his horses on the other side of the land; and on enquiring of the ambassador of the Xeque Ismael wherefore this his captain had come, he had declared that it was with the intention of sending from that port a messenger with twenty horses and some letters to the king of Cambay.

Afonso Dalboquerque stored up in his memory this artfully planned arrival of Abrahem Beque. Like a prudent commander he was not careless of what it behoved him to perform, but sent orders secretly to keep guard all round the Island with the galleys and brigantines which he had in the fleet, in order that no stranger should get into Ormuz, and he told Miguel Ferreira to return to shore and stay with the Xeque Ismael's ambassador, until he should send him word what he was to do. Having thus dismissed Miguel Ferreira, Afonso Dalboquerque called for Hacem Ale and sent him to the shore, accompanied by Duarte Vaz, a servant of the King D. Manuel, very well conversant with the native tongue, bearing a message to the king and to Reys Nordim, wherein there was no mention of Reys Hamed. Duarte Vaz had an interview with the king, and declared to him, on the part of Afonso Dalboquerque, that the ambassador, whom King Ceifadim, his brother, had sent to the King of Portugal, was there with the Portuguese, bearing letters and a reply to his mission; but inasmuch as he had returned to the religion in which he had been brought up, and had arrived only to find the king and Cogeatar dead who had formerly

sent him, he dared not come to land unless they first sent the son or nephew of Reys Nordim to him to remain in his hands as a hostage, and then he would send him his ambassador to give him the message with which he was charged; and he hoped to be excused for asking for hostages, because the King of Portugal, his lord, had so ordered him to act; and also, in order to avoid trouble he had commanded a watch to be set upon the island, so that no armed force might get into the city; and therefore he desired that this fact might be announced by public crier, because every fighting man who was found there without permission would be put to death by decapitation, and this he had done for the good and quiet of the land; and as for the other things which he had to discuss with him, he would send word about these after he had received the message which the ambassador had brought for him from the king, his lord.

The king replied to Duarte Vaz, that he was greatly delighted with the return of his ambassador, but as for the man's having turned Christian without permission, he could not pronounce any opinion until he had consulted with his governors, but he would send them without delay an answer of what they decided about it; and on the next day he sent one of the sons of Reys Nordim, a youth, as a hostage to the ship; and when the youth had arrived, Afonso Dalboquerque sent Nicolão Ferreira, with a very imposing company, and Pero Dalpoem, secretary for India, with him, and Alexander de Ataíde, the interpreter; and when Nicolão Ferreira had gone through the ceremony of giving the king the letters which he brought, and the reply of Portugal to the mission, he returned to the ship. During the space of time which the youth was awaiting the return of Nicolão Ferreira, Afonso Dalboquerque asked him how the affair of Reys Hamed was progressing. The boy was so dispirited, and in so great a fright, that he did not dare to say a word; and seeing him thus so terrified, Afonso Dalboquerque would

not hold any further communication with him, but sent him off as soon as Nicoláo Ferreira returned.

After Pero Dalpoem and Nicoláo Ferreira had related all that had passed, Afonso Dalboquerque asked them about Reys Hamed, what sort of a man he was. They told him he was a man of fair complexion, a young man of about thirty years of age, of good carriage, and a noble presence, and accounted to be a man of strength of mind, and a great lover of military things, and he always stood (they said) close beside the king's chair, holding a short sword, with one hand placed on his dagger, and that the king would never answer any more than what this man told him. Afonso Dalboquerque, who would not brook delay, and knew that Reys Hamed was determined to defend Ormuz, ordered the captains to be summoned to his ship, and declared to them that inasmuch as the King of Ormuz, by the letter which the King D. Manuel had written, had seen his determination to set to work at once to grapple with the affairs of Ormuz while they were yet in a pretty simple condition, let them therefore tell him how or in what way he should make a beginning with the king. And after discussing first one thing and then another, for some time, D. Garcia at length declared in the name of them all, that there really was no need of saying anything in the matter, for since the fortress which had been left after its commencement was still lying in the same condition there, and in the whole of the city there was not any other position more suitable than it was for the king's service; therefore one ought to claim to be allowed to complete it, rather than undertake other new enterprises, for they would take a long time to achieve; and therefore he ought to send and beg the king to grant a lodging-place, in the city, for the captains and men needed to be left on shore, to be a guard for the workmen who would be told off to perform the work.

The captains therefore, having come to this determination,

Afonso Dalboquerque sent Diogo Fernandez de Béja, Pero Dalpoem, the secretary, and Alexandre de Ataíde, the interpreter, to shore, to tell the king that he would be pleased to parley with his governors, in order to arrange certain matters which would redound to his service; therefore be begged him of his goodness to order these governors to make their way to a parley with him, carrying with them the text of the contract which had been originally made with King Ceifadim and Cogeatar, for he was desirous of taking his part. When this message had been delivered to the king, Reys Nordim replied in the king's name—for Reys Hamed was so proud that he never would hold any conversation with, nor receive any message from, Afonso Dalboquerque—that the King of Ormuz considered himself to be, as it were, the son of the King of Portugal, and the city and all the rest of his kingdom to be in his hands, and he would do everything he desired; but that it would be necessary to give an account of this policy to his governors, which he would do that very night. And on the morrow morning he would send the answer to Afonso Dalboquerque. And when morning came, Hacem Ale came off to Afonso Dalboquerque's ship, and in the presence of all the captains declared to him that the king had discussed with his governors what answer should be sent to the Portuguese terms, and in truth he desired to show him all the service he could, and especially that which the King of Portugal had ordered him to do; and he was aware that to ask for the surrender of the fortress which had by this time been incorporated with the [king's] houses, was certainly forcing him to adhere strictly to the agreement which he had made, but nevertheless he must beg him earnestly of his goodness to let him keep it, and he would give him any other site he should select on which to make another fortress, and for this end there was no need of making any formal contract.

Afonso Dalboquerque and the captains, after holding some

conversation upon this matter, agreed that they would waive the claim to the fortress, on condition that the king would give them as hostages for the performance of his promises two of the sons of Reys Nordim; and with these terms of reply Afonso Dalboquerque sent to shore Pero Dalpoem, Manoel da Costa, and Alexander de Ataíde, interpreter, who always accompanied the parties sent with messages. The king replied that in order to comply with the demand of Afonso Dalboquerque for hostages, it would be necessary in the first case to know the place whereon he desired to build the new fortress; and with them came Hacem Ale to learn the intentions of Afonso Dalboquerque, and he told him, speaking somewhat angrily, to declare to the king and his governors that he could not understand their way of conducting business, for they had sent word to say that if the fortress were suffered to remain in the king's possession, they would give him any other site that he chose, and then, when he asks for hostages to ensure the performance of this condition, the reply is made that he must first specify the position of the place, and then the hostages would be given; therefore let him tell the king that he had made a contract with his brother and with Cogeatar, his governor, and according to the terms of it he intended to stand; therefore let him send Reys Nordim to discuss matters with them, and bring the text of the contract with him, as he intended to carry it out to the very letter; for he did not want his houses nor his mosque, but only that which had been begun at the cost of the King D. Manuel, his lord; and he might rest certain that if this were not surrendered he would destroy Ormuz, and on this issue he and all the Portuguese who were there were prepared to risk their lives.

CHAPTER XXXII.

How the King of Ormuz sent Reys Nordim to parley with the great Afonso Dalboquerque concerning the surrender of the fortress: and of what took place about this matter.

Hacem Ale reached the shore, and related to the king and his governors all that had passed with the great Afonso Dalboquerque, and the reply which he had received, wherewith the king and all of them were much astonished, when they perceived the determination of the Portuguese. And the king lost no time in sending Hacem Ale back again with a message, begging him not to be angry, for he would send Reys Nordim, his governor, immediately, to consult with him, and would agree to everything in accordance with the wishes of his lordship; but as Reys Nordim was an old man and subject to gout, and would be unable to get up into the ship, he would desire him of his goodness to be pleased to come and see him in a galley, and send some Portuguese hostages to remain on shore.

On the following day, therefore, in the morning, Afonso Dalboquerque embarked on board the great galley, Captain Silvestre Corço, accompanied by all the captains, and stood close into shore, and ordered Lopo Vaz de Sampayo, Simão de Andrade, Aires da Silva, Pero Dalboquerque, Duarte de Melo, and Vasco Fernandez Coutinho, to take their boats to shore and convey Reys Nordim to the galley, taking with them Diogo Fernandez de Béja, who had been selected to remain behind as a hostage. When the captain reached land, Diogo Fernandez was delivered up to a captain of the King of Ormuz, and Reys Nordim went up into the boat which Lopo Vaz de Sampayo had brought, and with him went Reys Mudafar, brother of Reys Hamed, and two servants of Reys Nordim, and thus they went altogether to the galley, where

Afonso Dalboquerque was, and when he caught sight of Reys Nordim he embraced him and shewed him great favour, and after they had been seated, they conversed for a while upon the matters which had taken place on the first occasion of his visit to Ormuz.

When this talk was over, Reys Nordim asked him if there must needs be a king in Ormuz? Afonso Dalboquerque replied in the affirmative, and added that the king must also be in obedience to the King D. Manuel, his lord, and adhere to the treaty which he had made. Reys Nordim thereupon told him that the king, who looked upon him as a father, as it were, had sent a message asking him to waive his claim to that building which had been erected close to the palace, and in order to show him consideration he had granted this request. Yet, because the additional materials necessary for the construction of another would be troublesome to collect in so short a time as he wished, therefore the king would be pleased, after all, to surrender him his fortress which had been commenced, and that he might finish it in a short space of time, for Ormuz, and all the kingdom belonged to the King of Portugal. And thus each of them in this business used this sort of diplomatic action, for Reys Nordim, being alarmed at Afonso Dalboquerque's demand for the hospital, which was a building of great veneration among them, preferred to give up the fortress which had been commenced, rather than the hostages which they demanded. And Afonso Dalboquerque in like manner demanded the hospital in order to compel them to give up the fortress; for it was situated in the best position in the city, and looked towards two of the principal harbours, the one on the east and the other on the west. And after having agreed upon this point, Reys Nordim told him that the King of Portugal, in the reply to the letters of the mission from Ormuz, had left everything to the Portuguese commander; therefore he begged him of his goodness, as this was so, that he would swear in the

name of the King of Portugal to keep the contract which he had made, and he on his part would also swear to maintain it in the name of the King of Ormuz. Then Afonso Dalboquerque laid his hand on a book, and swore to perform everything that was mentioned in the contract, and Reys Nordim took out another from his breast, a little one, written in Arabic letters, gilded on the top, and in his king's name he swore to be always in obedience to the King of Portugal and his governors.

When the taking of these oaths was over, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered that a robe *(cabaia)* of brocade, with gold buttons, and a spray of very large beads of gold, should be given to Reys Nordim, and to Reys Mudafar another of crimson satin with gold buttons, and through Nicoláo Ferreira he sent to the king a very rich collar of gold and enamel, begging his pardon very earnestly for not sending so valuable a present as his royal personage really deserved. And he made a gift to Hacem Ale of fifty *cruzados*, and five ells *(covados)* of scarlet stuff; and he told Reys Nordim to acquaint the king that he begged him earnestly of his goodness to give orders immediately to close up the door of the fortress which led into the palace, and to open out another which led to the shore, and to grant him lodgings in the city for his people until the completion of the fortress; and as sign of peace and friendship let him command that a flag should be run up over his palace, which he there and then delivered to him, bearing the arms of Portugal, that it might be known to every one that it was in obedience to the King of Portugal.

Reys Nordim told him that all he wished should be carried out, and desired him to give a safe-conduct in order that the Moors might come from the mainland with provisions and merchandise to the city; and this he granted them on condition that there should not come in company with them any fighting men, for if such should be found he would not

spare the life of a single one of them; and as Reys Nordim was taking his leave, Afonso Dalboquerque was desirous of enquiring after the affairs of Reys Hamed, how his intrigue was progressing, but he had no opportunity, for Reys Mudafar would never give him the opportunity of speaking to him privately. Then Reys Nordim returned to shore, accompanied by all the captains, in the same way as he had come, and Diogo Fernandez returned to the Portuguese ships. And the king immediately commanded his people to fly the Portuguese flag from the loftiest pinnacle of his palace; and when those on board the fleet caught sight of it they fired off a salute of all the artillery.

When Reys Nordim had made an end of giving the king an account of what had passed with Afonso Dalboquerque, the king ordered that the gate of the fortress which communicated with the palace should be closed, and that the other which led to the strand should be opened. And as soon as this had been carried out he sent word to Afonso Dalboquerque that the gate of the fortress was now open, therefore he might take possession of it whenever he chose. Then Afonso Dalboquerque ordered D. Alvaro de Castro and Lopo de Azevedo, with the train-bands, to go and take possession of the fortress; and this took place on Palm Sunday, the last day of the month of March,[1] in the year one thousand five hundred and fifteen, with great demonstration of joy and a grand discharge of artillery. And when night fell, Afonso Dalboquerque, accompanied by D. Garcia, his nephew, and certain of the captains, proceeded to inspect the fortress, and at the entrance of the gate he fell down on his knees, and shedding many tears gave thanks to Our Lord for having given him his house without war and without loss of his men; and on the following day he commanded them to make a palisading of fascines filled with earth, along the beach, and between them to arrange the artillery; and he

[1] Palm Sunday fell on the 1st of April in A.D. 1515.

placed within the palisading certain wooden huts, in order that the gunners and the working parties and some men of the train-bands might withdraw into them for shelter. And when this was all settled, after the lapse of a few days, Afonso Dalboquerque came and lodged in the keep,[1] which was half finished, and ordered that the train-bands should be lodged in the hospital.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

How Reys Nordim sent, through Alexandre de Ataíde the interpreter, an account of the intrigue of Reys Hamed, and of what passed thereupon.

When all these things were passed, the great Afonso Dalboquerque sent a message to Reys Nordim, through Alexandre de Ataíde the interpreter saying he had learned that Reys Hamed, his nephew, was actually in possession of the king's palace, and of all his treasures, and held the king himself as it were in captivity; therefore he begged him earnestly to send word secretly as to the exact condition in which affairs stood. Reys Nordim, although out of fear of his nephew he dared not open his mouth, nevertheless, being, as it were, disconcerted at having his honour involved in the question, sent word to Afonso Dalboquerque, that after King Ceifadim was dead he had set up this king who was now reigning, and out of a desire for the safety of his estate he had placed over all the palace, from the gates inwards, his nephew Reys Hamed and his two brothers; and because he was left, as it were, chief of the household of the late king, after the death of Cogeatar, he was carrying on the government, for the present king was but a youth; and after one year had elapsed since he had come to power,

[1] *Torre de menagem.*

Reys Hamed had begged the king to bestow on him the post of the government which had been held by Cogeatar, as well as his houses which he used to inhabit; and the king had put him off several times, commanding him, in order to divert his mind from this object, to make ready certain *atalaias*, or watch boats, for it was his intention to send him out as captain of them, against the Nautaques; and after they were ready the king had paid the crews who were to go with him a month's wages beforehand, and then caused him to embark, but Reys Hamed, after going to sea, had disembarked, and returned with greater pride than ever to the king's palace; and one night, when it was raining, with the connivance of his brothers, who had their apartments within the palace, he effected an entrance with the crews, and penetrated to the very bedchamber where the king was sleeping with his wife, and catching hold of him by the hand, had drawn out a dagger, calling out and asking him if he recognised at length that he was in his power, and he could kill him.

The king, perceiving his enemy standing over him, in fear of his life, threw himself at his feet and begged him not to kill him, for he would do whatever he liked; and thereupon Reys Hamed had got power over all his household and his treasures, and being countenanced and assisted in this enterprise by his brothers, he had got him and his sons completely in his power; and on the same day that his lordship (Afonso Dalboquerque) had reached the harbour he had let the king go free, as indeed he could not resist doing, for he was in bed very ill with an attack of gout; but that Reys Hamed, when once he had got the king under his power had never more let him go, carrying him about like a prisoner, not even allowing him to speak with any one except in his own presence, which caused the captive king great sorrow, for he was unable to give away anything to any one out of his own property, seeing that

Reys Hamed had the keys of all his treasury, only allowing him a hundred *xerafins* yearly, and spending all the rest just as he liked; and thus it was that the king was no longer in possession of his own kingdom, and he himself out of the government, and Reys Hamed lord of all.

Alexandre de Ataíde repaired with this account to Afonso Dalboquerque, who became very much alarmed at the intelligence (for he had left Reys Nordim acting in concert with the late king), and sending back the messenger at once, he ordered him to declare to the king that the ambassador of the Xeque Ismael had sent to him to say that he wished to pay him (Afonso) a visit, but before having an audience with him it would be necessary for him to speak with Reys Nordim, and therefore he begged him of his goodness that he would come and converse with him there in the fortress; and he ordered Antonio Raposo, Nuno Martinz Raposo, and Pero Dalpoem, secretary, to go and bring him, and thus he came, accompanied by all the merchants and principal men of the land, and in his company came also Reys Mudafar, brother of Reys Hamed.

Afonso Dalboquerque showed every one great honour and courtesy, and administered to each one the oath that they would always remain faithful vassals of the King of Ormuz, and if it were needful to spend their fortunes and even their lives for his service, that they would do so; and so, also, he made them swear that they would not recognise as governor on the part of the king and kingdom any other person than Reys Nordim, to whom he had delivered the government of the other king who had just lately died; and he said that in like manner he, too, would swear to keep and maintain them in justice, and to defend the king from his enemies; and the same oath he administered to Reys Mudafar, that he would not be obedient to the commands of any other governor of the land than the king, unless it were to Reys Nordim; and for all that he desired to evade the taking of

this oath, yet notwithstanding at last he performed that which Afonso Dalboquerque commanded him to do.

When this was concluded, Reys Nordim took his departure, and just as he was on the point of leaving, Afonso Dalboquerque drew him aside, by himself, to the far end of the house, with the secretary and Alexandre de Ataíde, the interpreter, and there Reys Nordim told him the same which he had already sent him word about, and begged him earnestly of his goodness to honour his white hairs and not permit that at the close of his old age he should be vexed and deprived of his honourable position, for he had always been loyal to the King Ceifadim, his lord, and to this one with whom he was now living. Afonso Dalboquerque bade him not to be troubled, for he would promise him he would very quickly put Reys Hamed out of Ormuz, and the king should become free again, and he himself in possession of all his honour which he had always enjoyed hitherto.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

How the ambassador of the Xeque Ismael went to pay a visit to the great Afonso Dalboquerque; and of the reception which he met with; and of the events which took place thereafter.

After the great Afonso Dalboquerque had been properly established in our fortress, the ambassador of the Xeque Ismael sent word to him, through Miguel Ferreira, that he desired to come and deliver the message which he had brought to him from his lord.

Afonso Dalboquerque sent back word to say to him that he could not see him on that day, for he had certain business that must be dispatched, but on the following day he would attend to his wishes. Then he gave immediate orders to make ready, in front of the fortress (which led

directly on to one of the principal streets of the city), a large platform of timber with three stages, all carpeted over with carpets, and adorned round about with quantities of cloth stuff and a canopy of brocade, and some cushions of green velvet placed on the platform, and two chairs of the same colour, fringed with gold.

And he ordered the captains of the train-bands to make ready their men, with their arms, all in good order—to the number of about six hundred men—and the crossbow-men and musqueteers, and to draw up all this body of men along the beach; and he ordered all the other soldiers, carrying lances and targes, that they also should be there drawn up in order at a closer range to the platform, in such wise that they formed a very long passage; and beside this body of men whom he had all thus drawn up in array, there were many other bodies of men who went about disbanded, and all the populace of Ormuz—a wonderful sight to behold. And all the captains, Fidalgoes, and servants of the king had to be present on the platform with Afonso Dalboquerque, very smartly attired and accompanied by the pages, who carried their arms.

All being, therefore, arranged in this manner, on the following day, after partaking of some food, Afonso Dalboquerque sent D. Garcia de Noronha, his nephew, with all the captains, Fidalgoes, and cavaliers to go for the ambassador and bring him to him. The King of Ormuz was standing at a window of his palace which looked out on the sea-front, with all his governors, witnessing this triumphal ceremony; and when Dom Garcia arrived at the place where the ambassador was lodged, he showed them great courtesy, as was right should be shown to the ambassador of so great a prince, and then they began to form a procession in the following order.

In front of all came two Moors on horseback, hunters who used trained ounces, or panthers, each one with his ounce

on the crupper; and after them came six horses in single file, saddled with their saddle-cloths of great richness, and head-gear of steel and caparisons of mail on their flanks; and behind these, twelve mounted Moors richly attired, carrying golden jewellery, pieces of silk stuff, and brocade in silver washhand basins; and immediately after these the trumpeters of Afonso Dalboquerque, and people playing drums, and all the captains and Fidalgoes following them in order, one row on one side and one on the other; and last of all came D. Garcia with the ambassador, and in this order they reached the place where Afonso Dalboquerque was waiting for them.

Our fleet, which was all bedecked with flags, as soon as the ambassador reached the fortress, fired off a salute of all the guns, and it seemed as if the whole world had blown up; and as he went up the last step of the platform, Afonso Dalboquerque rose up from the chair on which he was seated and went forward two or three steps. Then the ambassador made a courteous salutation according to his native fashion, and gave him a letter from the Xeque Ismael for the King of Portugal, and Afonso Dalboquerque took it, cap in hand, and he remained thus uncovered as long as he held it; and he gave him one in return for himself, which Afonso Dalboquerque handed over to Pero Dalpoem, secretary, who was standing close beside him. Having by this time made an end of giving him the letters, with some words which he made him, he presented him the gift which he brought, of which I do not here make mention, for I have already given an account of what it consisted.

Afonso Dalboquerque received the present with great demonstration of pleasure and satisfaction, and, after giving orders for it to be gathered together, he stood in conversation for a little space with the ambassador, inquiring of him about the Xeque Ismael, how he was, and where he was staying, and how he himself had borne the fatigues of the

journey. And when this interview was over, Afonso Dalboquerque bade him go and recruit himself, and he would talk with him more at length on a future day. D. Garcia de Noronha then conducted him back again to his house with the same ceremony as that which had been observed at his coming, and there Afonso Dalboquerque ordered that he should be supplied in plentiful abundance with everything that he or his party required for their maintenance.

Two days afterwards, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered that the ambassador should be summoned before him, and in the conversation which took place between them he declared the desire of the Xeque Ismael to become personally acquainted with and be in close friendship with the King of Portugal, and of utility to his lordship; and offered his great thanks for the entertainment and good treatment which his ambassadors had received at the hands of the Portuguese in India, offering him certain places in his kingdom, if he would be pleased to accept them, and that he would be happy to make him a lord therein on account of the fame of his personal character which had reached him.

When this interview was over, the ambassador laid before him four points which he brought in the instructions of his mission.

The first was that the dues which were levied upon the merchandise coming from Persia to Ormuz should belong to the Xeque Ismael.

The second, that shipping should be supplied for the passage of his people to the land of Arabia, which is on the coast whereon lies Barem[1] and Catife.[2]

[1] See p. 114.

[2] Al-Katif, on the Arabian coast, an important town now, nine and-a-half miles S.W. from Ras Tanureh. There is a minaret eighty to a hundred feet high in the south part of the fort, and the citadel in the north-west corner is said to have been built by the Portuguese. There is plenty of water in the neighbourhood.—*Persian Gulf Pilot*, 1870, p. 123.

The third, that he would assist the Xeque, with his fleet, to capture a place called Guardaré;[1] for the King of Maçaram,[2] his vassal, had risen up in rebellion against him and seized it. This Guardaré lies between Diolicindé[3] and the land of Jasque,[4] which forms part of the kingdom of Ormuz, where the Nautaques for the most part of the year make their refuge, and from that place prey upon the ships which are making their way to Ormuz.

The fourth, that he should have a harbour in India for the Persian merchants to trade their merchandise, and permission to establish a factory house in Ormuz.

When the ambassador had presented these articles, Afonso Dalboquerque replied that matters of such importance as these required to be carefully considered, therefore he would consider them and dispatch him as quickly as he could.

CHAPTER XXXV.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque related to the captains all that had taken place with Reys Nordim, and the condition in which the king's affairs stood, and what was determined upon concerning this: and how the king came to pay him a visit at the fortress, and Reys Hamed was killed.

When the great Afonso Dalboquerque had been informed by Reys Nordim of the king's condition, he sent for D. Garcia de Noronha, his nephew, and all the captains, and related to them all that had taken place at the interview, desiring them each, one by one, to tell him how he should proceed in this business. All were unanimous in declaring

[1] Perhaps Tárát island, large and fertile, opposite Al-Katif.

[2] The Mekran or Persian coast in the Persian Gulf. See the chart by Brucks and Haines, 1829.

[3] See p. 59.

[4] Jaskh, on the Persian side of the Persian Gulf. See *Persian Gulf Pilot*, p. 140.

that he ought to deliver the king out of the power of this tyrant, and command the same to leave the kingdom immediately with his brothers. This, then, having been agreed upon, whereas Afonso Dalboquerque had made up his mind that Reys Hamed should be put to death, although he had not communicated his intention to any one except to D. Garcia, his nephew (for, in any affair that was known to many, there could be no secret), he cast about to see if, by any way, with as little disturbance as might be, he could get him into his hands. Therefore, it was that from time to time he used to send him word, couched in gentle and mild language, that he was desirous of seeing him, and conversing with him. But Reys Hamed was never without an excuse for not coming, declaring that when the king went to see Afonso Dalboquerque, then they could have an opportunity to see and converse with one another; for it appears that he, too, cherished the idea, if opportunity should prove favourable, of killing Afonso Dalboquerque, and for this end he, had already in readiness a large number of men-at-arms within the city. Afonso Dalboquerque, however, accepted his excuses without apparently perceiving their object, and from that time forward began to make arrangements so as to bring about a visit from the king; for if Reys Hamed were to accompany the king in the visit, he could the more easily be enabled to put his determination into effect. Therefore it was, that he sent word to the king by Pero Dalpoem, secretary, that he was very desirous of seeing him, begging him earnestly to appoint, at his own convenience, a time and place for an interview.

The king replied that he would consult with his governors and send him word of their decision. And, on the following day in the morning, word was sent by Hacem Ale to Afonso Dalboquerque, that the king, also actuated by a desire for an interview, would order a tent to be pitched at the gate of his palace, and there they could see one another. But Afonso

Dalboquerque, perceiving that this was merely an artifice of Reys Hamed, answered angrily that when he came to that port on a previous occasion, as chief captain of four ships, King Ceifadim, his brother, had come to pay him a visit in a pier[1] outside his palace, and now that he had become Captain-General of India, and possessed of far more power and authority (as he could see), it seemed to him an undignified course to go and visit the king at his own house, but the interview must be conducted in the manner which he desired. Hacem Ale returned with this answer; but the king and Reys Nordim, who were desirous of seeing themselves freed from the subjection in which they were lying, declared that it seemed good to go and visit Afonso Dalboquerque in the fortress, and the other governors of the city also concurred with them in this opinion. But Reys Hamed, who was a proud man, maintained that it was not honourable nor dignified in the King of Ormuz to go and visit a captain of the King of Portugal in his house; and, after the interchange of many messages between the two parties, in reference to this matter, Reys Hamed at length consented that the king should go and see Afonso Dalboquerque, for he was of opinion that in some of these interviews he would have an opportunity of putting his diabolical intentions into practice; so he sent word, on the king's behalf, by Hacem Ale, that, on the following day in the morning, the king would come and see him, but in the house wherein the interview was to take place he must not place any person except the Portuguese captains, and these without any arms, for those who accompanied the king would also come without any arms.

Afonso Dalboquerque sent word to say that he was so anxious to see the king that he would comply with these conditions, but all the rest of his men, who would be on duty outside, must be under arms, for this was always his un-

[1] *Cerame.*

changing custom. These preliminaries having been agreed to, Afonso Dalboquerque gave orders to fit up a large reception-room, built of prepared earth, which had just been finished, and hung it with cloth, and set up a brocaded dais, furnished with two chairs of crimson velvet, fringed with gold, and benches all round them, covered with cushions, for the captains and governors of the land who were to accompany the king; and he also ordered the men-at-arms, crossbow-men, and musqueteers, to be stationed under arms, close outside the gate of the fortress which looked towards the sea; and the captains of the train-bands, who were lodged in the hospital, to be in readiness, and when they heard a gunshot, as a signal, they were to march out by the street on the right hand and form up in front of the gate of the fortress leading to the city, and make themselves masters of it; and to the other captains orders were given that they were to be prepared for the reception of the king on the following day, putting on weapons secretly, and having their daggers hidden, so as to be able to avail themselves of them if occasion should arise and they should have need of them; and he also told D. Garcia de Noronha to select a body of fifty trusty men and take care of the gate, and as soon as the king, Reys Hamed, and Reys Nordim had entered, to close it, and not permit any other person to enter.

All being thus put in proper order, on the morning of the next day, Afonso Dalboquerque sent word by Pero Dalpoem and Alexandre de Ataíde, the interpreter, to tell the king in what manner he was expecting him. And as soon as they reached the king with his message, he immediately made himself ready with all the lords and governors of the land on foot, and he himself riding on a horse, surrounded by many archers as a body-guard, and so came to the fortress where Afonso Dalboquerque was waiting. Reys Hamed, who came with the intention which I have already referred

to, brought all his party armed in coats of mail, with short swords[1] under their dresses,[2] and he himself carried a short sword and dagger, and a shield, and in his hand a long iron mace. And when he had proceeded so far forward as to be close up to the gate of the fortress, he told the king to remain still where he was, for he would go inside first of all and see how the buildings were placed; and when he had gone in he made his way to Afonso Dalboquerque, who treated him with respectful recognition, and told Alexandre de Ataíde to ask him why he came with weapons in his hands when the agreement had been made that neither party should carry arms. Reys Hamed, like an overbearing and insolent man, as he was, answered: "This has nothing to do with me", and turned round to go back to the spot where he had left the king, with the intention of returning home, for he did not think it was a favourable opportunity of putting his intention to effect; and he quickly came up with the king, who had begun to go in through the gate, and when he came up with him he told him not to go in any further, for Afonso Dalboquerque had a number of men with him, all of whom were armed. Thereupon Alexandre de Ataíde, who stood by and heard these words, said to him, "Come this way, and I will go and show you how all the things are arranged." And he took him by the hand and led him up to Afonso Dalboquerque, who bade him put away his weapons, for it was wrong to have brought them. Reys Hamed thereupon began to lose his temper, putting his hand to his short sword. Afonso Dalboquerque, perceiving him in this discomposed state, and feeling that the opportunity was come to put him to death, in accordance with the determination already arrived at, called out to Pero Dalboquerque, who had already been instructed how to act, "Lay hold of him then." And Pero ran up at once and placed himself between Afonso Dalboquerque and

[1] *Tarçados.* [2] *Cabaias.*

Reys Hamed, and just at that moment Reys Hamed laid hands upon a tag of velvet which he was wearing. Then Afonso Dalboquerque pushed him away from him and said to Pero Dalboquerque, "Kill him." And in an instant he received so many dagger-thrusts that he was dead before he had time to call out; and in order not to look on him, Afonso Dalboquerque turned his back, and began to walk on towards the spot where the king was, and said in reply to Dom Garcia and the other captains who followed that leader, "It is nothing; all is over."

As soon as Dom Garcia had left the king with Afonso Dalboquerque, he ran back quickly to the gate to prevent any one from making his way in, and this task he performed not without great difficulty. The king, when he beheld Reys Hamed lying dead—for he never intended to bring his death about, but only cast him out of the kingdom—became beside himself, dreading lest the Portuguese intended to visit the same treatment on himself. And there were around him there Reys Nordim, and Reys Xarafe his son (who has been here in Portugal), and Hacem Ale; and when Afonso Dalboquerque cast his eyes upon him, he made his way to him cap in hand, smiling, and desired him not be under any apprehension, for he should be king of Ormuz in the name of the king Dom Manuel, his lord; and then he set him in one of the chairs beneath the canopy of the dais, and paid him all the ceremonial deference which is due to one of kingly rank, desiring him earnestly of his goodness to pardon him for venturing to perform such a deed as this had proved to be in the presence of his royal person; as for Reys Hamed, he had been put to death because he was too proud a man, for when he had entered the house, he had laid his hand on the sword which he carried, and when he came up to him he had laid hold of the velvet tag, and because he (Afonso Dalboquerque) had been informed that the man kept him (the king) prisoner,

and was in possession of all his kingdom and treasures. This was all said with his cap in his hand, with many courteous expressions, which Afonso Dalboquerque on occasions such as these knew very well how to use.

The king thanked him very much for all that he had done, declaring to him that he looked upon him as a father, and that all he had done was very well done, and that he would acknowledge the receiving of the kingdom from his hand in the name of the King of Portugal.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

How Reys Mudafar and his brother, on hearing of Reys Hamed's death, set out with all their host to attack the king's palace, and fortified themselves therein; and of what further happened.

The brothers of Reys Hamed, who found themselves put out of the business, with their people (although what with the blowing of trumpets and beating drums incessantly, because they had been ordered so to do, they had perceived nothing of what had happened indoors), nevertheless, on account of the suspicions which they experienced, drew near with axes, intending to break the doors in, and force the entrance. But Afonso Dalboquerque, desirous of preventing this, ordered a gun to be fired. This was the signal which he had preconcerted with the captains of the train-bands; and as soon as they heard it, they made their way directly to the gate, and compelled Reys Hamed's brother and all his people to withdraw. And when they began to skirmish with these, Dom Garcia came up and bade them, on the behalf of Afonso Dalboquerque, to take care what they were about, for there were adherents of the king and of Reys Nordim mixed up with these Moors. Afonso Dalboquerque also, with the intention of pacifying all this

uproar, commanded Don Alvaro da Silveira, Ruy Galvão, and Diogo Fernandez de Bejà to make their way to the men of the train-bands, and induce them to be quiet; and ordered all the captains to arm themselves, and he left D. Garcia with the men, and went up upon a terrace with the king and Reys Nordim, and there he ordered that a carpeted platform should be set out, upon which he sat for a long time, in sight of all the Moors, who thought that he had been killed. When the brothers of Reys Hamed beheld him, they demanded of him with great vehemence what had become of their brother; and they were so persistent in this, that Afonso Dalboquerque sent word to them by Alexandre de Ataide, the interpreter, that he would order Reys Hamed's head to be delivered to them if they desired it.

When they heard this, they became aware that Reys Hamed was dead, and then began to threaten the king, declaring that they would make their way to the fortress and set up one of the sons of the late King Ceifadim to be king. And in this furious state of mind they rushed away to the palace, and closed the gates, and made ready all their guns, with the intention of maintaining their position in it. Now, inasmuch as it was advisable that all those of the faction of Reys Hamed should be pacified without loss of time, before any of the people outside could combine with them, Afonso Dalboquerque sent to the ships for a number of scaling ladders which he had brought with him, and made ready all his people, with intention of getting in by force; and ordered that certain pieces of artillery should be carried up to the terrace, so as from that point to assault the fortress. Reys Nordim begged him to suspend any active measures against them, until the king should send some one to parley with them and learn their intention, for it was impossible that they really desired to raise that man to the sovereignty; and he sent a message to his

Mulás (*i.e.*, Mollahs), who went backwards and forwards twice without coming to any determination.

When Afonso Dalboquerque perceived that he should never come to any practical end if he went on in this way, he sent word for Abraham Beque, captain of the Xeque Ismael, and his ambassador, and through them he sent a message that unless by sundown every one had gone out of the fortress and embarked for the mainland, they might rest assured that he would not spare the life of one of them. Abraham Beque, who was the chief instigator of this uproar, spoke with the rebels, and easily persuaded them to evacuate the palace and retire to the furthermost point of the city, and then to send and beg of Afonso Dalboquerque the body of Reys Hamed, their brother, with the intention of carrying it away for interment in his own land, and a vessel to enable them to pass over to terra firma with their wives and people, for there were in all about seven hundred fighting men. This request Afonso Dalboquerque granted; but as for the body of Reys Hamed, he said he could not grant it, for those who were traitors to their lords ought not to have sepulture of a certainty where they could be laid.

That very night every man of the party embarked and crossed over to the opposite side; and when there was yet the space of an hour to sundown, Afonso Dalboquerque rode out, accompanied by the king and all our people, and made his way through the midst of the city as far as the palace, taking along with them in advance the train-bands, with all the trumpeters and drummers, while Dom Garcia and Reys Nordim came along in the rear with all the captains and noblemen of the fleet on foot. Great was the delight in the city when the bystanders beheld their king, and still greater was the gratification every one felt to find himself freed from the thraldom of Reys Hamed, and boundless the praises given to Afonso Dalboquerque; and this

with much reason, for though he had under his hand the king and his palace, which was the principal fortress of Ormuz, and all his treasures, yet he did not wish to lay hands on it, but, as a prudent man, he always bore himself towards the king with great authority, showing him that he had come to Ormuz simply to serve him and maintain his estate, willingly foregoing this splendid opportunity of seizing the power, to avoid the stigma of being called a tyrant. And in this triumphal procession the king reached his palace at length, which Afonso Dalboquerque delivered up to him and to Reys Nordim in the name of the King of Portugal, in the presence of the ambassador of the Xeque and Abraham Beque, his captain, in order that when they returned to Persia they might be trustworthy witnesses of this grand exploit of Afonso Dalboquerque.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

How the King of Ormuz again paid a visit to the great Afonso Dalboquerque in the fortress, and what passed between them; and the punishment which was visited upon seven Portuguese who fled away to the Moors.

A few days after the death of Reys Hamed, when the King of Ormuz reflected how much it was owing to the great Afonso Dalboquerque that he had been rescued from the hands of that tyrant, he determined to pay him another visit, and brought with him as a present several pieces of gold ore, and rich objects of native manufacture, to give to him and his captains, and sent word to him by Reys Nordim that he was very desirous of seeing him, and hoped that a day for an interview might be arranged; for on the former occasion when he visited the fortress there had been no time or opportunity of conversation between them,

because of the events which had then arisen. Afonso Dalboquerque replied that it was a great favour and honour which he was showing him in thus desiring to visit him; but as it was his wish, let him come and pay him a visit in the building where he had been delivered from the power of the traitor. Reys Nordim returned with this reply, carrying with him to the king a sword richly ornamented with gold, a present from Afonso Dalboquerque.

On the Tuesday fixed by the king for the interview, the trumpeters and drummers of Afonso Dalboquerque went out to form an escort for the king, who came on horseback, accompanied by Reys Nordim and all the lords and governors of the land on foot, bringing a present, according to the native custom, carried in advance.

Afonso Dalboquerque, with all the captains, awaited the royal arrival in that building richly adorned with tapestry; a canopy and two silk-covered chairs being set for themselves, and a circle of cushioned benches set around for the captains and the people who accompanied the king. As soon as the king arrived, Afonso Dalboquerque proceeded to the entrance with all his captains to receive him; and, after the exchange of mutual courtesies, the king declared that the favour he had received at the hands of Afonso Dalboquerque in being delivered from the thraldom of that bad man would always remind him of his duty, and that he would remain in obedience to the King of Portugal, for it was in his name that he held the kingdom of Ormuz. Afonso Dalboquerque replied that he was his servant, and would never fail to assist in maintaining him in his position; and so he recommended the king to all his men who stood by, that they should always serve him and risk their lives and property for him, as they were in duty bound to do. And after spending some considerable space of time thus in conversing of the disorders which Reys Hamed had wrought in the kingdom, Afonso Dalboquerque, who was

anxious to forbid the practice of carrying arms in the city, in order to get more complete mastery over the land, made use of the following artifice with the king, and told him that a few days ago he had given orders for putting to death that traitor Reys Hamed (as he knew), who had brothers and relatives, and in the city there were yet lurking certain of his creatures, of whom there was not one who, despising death, would not shoot him with an arrow; therefore he would beg him of his goodness, in order to avoid these difficulties, to give orders that no person in Ormuz should carry arms; and since the obligation of guarding the city belonged to him, it was sufficient for its defence that the Portuguese alone should go armed; by this means, too, all possibility of a conflict between the natives and the Portuguese would be prevented. The king was so dispirited by the cruel manner in which Reys Hamed had treated him, that when this proposal was made, he replied that he quite approved of it, and he would order it to be promulgated forthwith. And when this conversation was over, he took leave of Afonso Dalboquerque and made his way back to his palace, very much pleased with him.

On the following day, in the morning, the king sent orders immediately to the public crier to proclaim, that no Moor, of whatever position he might be, should bear bow, arrow, or any other weapon, in the city, by day or by night, under penalty of death, except only the archers of the royal body-guard, whom Afonso Dalboquerque had permitted to go armed. By these means it was that he proceeded with his plan for obtaining the mastery little by little over the land, while the king, for his part, never ventured to do anything without first of all sending to inquire whether he should act or not. And on that very day, in the evening, the king sent word to inform Afonso Dalboquerque that one of the native captains, stationed in a fortress on the mainland, had written to him of the arrival there in the

morning of seven Portuguese and a negro in a small boat; but when he endeavoured to lay hands on them, they had set themselves in an attitude of self-defence with the matchlocks which they carried, and as they were Portuguese he had forbidden his men to kill them. Afonso Dalboquerque made inquiry respecting the flight of these men, and learned that a certain Antonio Fernandez, called De Alvito, who had lived a long time in Persia, being a Moor, had prevailed on them to accompany him, and was taking them to the Xeque Ismael. Having gained knowledge of this, he sent back word to the king, begging him of his goodness to lose no time in sending off a party of men to seek them and to bring them back to him, dead or alive, as well as the boat which they had taken with them. The king sent out letters to all his captains ordering them to strain every nerve to capture the fugitives, declaring that if they failed to do so he would cut off their heads. And besides this action of the king, Afonso Dalboquerque fitted out Jeronymo de Sousa in a galley with an armed force, and sent them to the mainland; and also Nicolão Ferreira in a *parao*, for he knew the native language, in order to get hold of the fugitives.

The king's captains, as soon as the royal message reached them, sent out a large body of searchers in different directions to look for them, and at length they fell in with them at a distance of fourteen leagues up in the interior country, accompanying a caravan which was travelling to Persia, and had taken the clothing of the fugitives from them; so they were all taken, except one, a Gallician, whom they killed because he would not surrender himself. And just as they had been captured, with the weapons that had been taken from them, so they were delivered up to Jeronymo de Sousa, who returned with them to the city.

As soon as they arrived, Afonso Dalboquerque gave notice to the *ouvidor*, to take proper proceedings in this

business. And after the trial was over they were condemned to be burned to death in the very boat in which they had made their flight; and Pero Dalpoem, who was *ouvidor-general* of India, ordered that the boat should be conveyed to the principal square of the city, and there all the culprits were publicly burned alive, except João Afonso, and Antonio Fernandez, a seaman, whose lives Afonso Dalboquerque spared, because it was declared that these two had saved his life in the shield[1] at Calicut, when that affair with the marshal took place[2]; so he commuted their punishment to degradation in the galleys. On account of the rapid manner in which this meting out of justice was accomplished by him, a much greater fear of Afonso Dalboquerque was experienced from that time forward.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Of the message which the great Afonso Dalboquerque sent to the king concerning the forces of Reys Hamed; and of certain other matters which were ordained for the security of the kingdom; and how Abraham Beque, Captain of the Xeque Ismael, returned to his own land.

Now, as the great Afonso Dalboquerque had received information that there was in the fortress of Monejão, as captain, one of the brothers of Reys Hamed, and also in all the other villages and fleets his adherents and his captains were distributed; and being desirous, as he was, of rooting up all that man's seed out of the kingdom, he sent word to the king, through the secretary, to order every one of those people to quit the country immediately, and if they would not go away of their own free will, then he (the king) must send those who would put them out by force;

[1] *Padez*, a word equivalent to *pavez*, a pavese, or pavise, a large shield to cover the whole body, or a cloth screen used in fighting-ships.

[2] See vol. ii, p. 70.

and as for all the captains and adherents of Reys Hamed, who were at present engaged in a fleet against the Nautaques, and scattered up and down throughout the towns and villages of the kingdom, he must order them to be forthwith discharged and cast out of the country.

The king replied that he would send out thither his *Muluás*, or religious men, and if these could not prevail upon the persons objected to that they should quit the kingdom, then he would do as Afonso Dalboquerque desired, and he would also take care for the future to have no dealings with them. Reys Hamed's brother, on receiving the king's message, replied that if the sum of twenty thousand *xerafins* were paid to him, he would yield up the fortress; and after a long course of negotiation upon this point, finally he declared that he would accept four thousand *xerafins* to go away. The king, to save himself trouble, ordered that this sum should be paid, and the captain surrendered the fortress and went away.

When Afonso Dalboquerque found out that the king had given this sum of money to Reys Hamed's brother for the surrender of the fortress, he sent a message to Reys Nordim to make immediate reprisals on two of their ships which had arrived from India laden with merchandise, so as to thereby repay himself the money of which he had thus been deprived, and Reys Nordim did so. And when this had been done, the king issued letters throughout all his kingdom to his captains, to the effect that all the soldiery who were found in the fortress belonging to Reys Hamed should be stripped and banished, and never more set foot in the kingdom, under penalty of death; and he ordered the fleet to be recalled from its cruise against the Nautaques, and dismissed the captains and men of Reys Hamed who were serving in it. By these active measures it was that Afonso Dalboquerque caused the country to be pacified from the numerous uproars and robberies that used to take place therein.

And as, also, he had been informed that there was a public place of prostitution of men[1] in the city, he sent word to Reys Nordim to order that such persons should be immediately banished throughout the kingdom, for he would not dare to remain in a land where a sin so heinous against God was so publicly practised; and he declared that if from henceforth any persons were found guilty of such crimes he would order every one of them to be burned alive in the middle of the market square. Reys Nordim ordered these persons to be driven out, and none dared to return, with the dread of this punishment hanging over them.

When all these matters had been arranged, Afonso Dalboquerque took in hand the affairs of the merchants, and granted them a safe-conduct for their shipping, to make the voyage to India to take in merchandise, and permitted the caravans to come from India to Ormuz, and gave them such privileges and powers that friends and enemies alike were delighted to come to Ormuz with their merchandise, as in former times, for they placed confidence in his words, and if anyone had received any injury at the hands of the Portuguese, the offenders were severely punished; and on account of these measures and others which were put in force, many merchants came from abroad to settle in Ormuz, which now began to grow great on a noble scale. But with the person of the king, and in the government of the kingdom, Afonso Dalboquerque would not meddle (leaving everything to him and his governors), but he treated the king always with the greatest consideration and deference, and this went a great way towards effecting the pacification of the country.

When all these matters had been set at rest, Abraham Beque, captain of the Xeque Ismael, who was in Ormuz, as I have already mentioned, perceiving all his plans were defeated by the death of Reys Hamed, begged permission

[1] *Mancebia publica de homens.*

of Afonso Dalboquerque to retire to his own lands, which were situated upon the borders of the Persian Sea, and this was granted. And as Afonso Dalboquerque always dissembled his affairs, for he did not wish to be at variance with the man, because he was the principal captain of the Xeque Ismael, and a neighbour to the territory of Ormuz, he showed him much kindness in the name of the king, whereat he was greatly pleased, and when he reached his own lands he wrote an account of the greatness of Afonso Dalboquerque, and specially a relation of the affair of Reys Hamed, to the Xeque Ismael.

As soon as Abraham Beque had set out, Afonso Dalboquerque ordered that representations of his needs should be made to the king and Reys Nordim, his governor, and also that the protests should be shown to them which had formerly been made to King Ceifadim and to Cogeatar, respecting the fortress which had been commenced, but taken from him by them when he visited Ormuz for the first time—and in this enterprise he had laid out a large sum of money and lost much property, not to mention other losses occasioned by the rebellion of their officials on land—therefore it was that he begged them earnestly to look well into this matter, and give orders that payment should be made in ready money of all that was found to be due to him, for he was in need of money for the completion of the fortress and for the expenses of his fleet.

After some time had been spent in several messages from one to the other on this matter, the king at length sent word that he would be very happy to pay everything that was due, provided that a set-off was made in the account for five thousand *xerafins* which the Viceroy D. Francisco Dalmeida had received from his brother; and that as for the property, which, it was alleged, had been taken from him, Reys Nordim had already restored a great part of it to Pero Dalboquerque when that commander visited

Ormuz in the past year, and he had the papers to verify the fact; and as for the balance of the account, let them discuss it with Reys Nordim, and all that was due should be paid. On the following day, in order to lose no time, Afonso Dalboquerque sent Pero Dalpoem, Alexandre de Ataide, the interpreter, and Manuel da Costa, the factor, to Reys Nordim's house, and after examining the accounts, it was found that there was a sum of one hundred and twenty thousand *xerafins* due, and this the king ordered to be paid by days, wherewith the fabric of the fortress was made, and the other expenses settled. Thus was at length terminated the grumbling of the captains at the time when Afonso Dalboquerque ordered this claim to be made upon Cogeatar, as I have already related.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque, on account of the news which he received concerning the coming of the Rumes, sent to beg the king to lend him his artillery, and what passed thereupon; and how, after having obtained possession of it, he paid the king a visit in his house.

The affairs of Ormuz being now in the state and quiet which I have described, and the fortress being already advanced to a considerable height, there arrived a Moor from Calayate with news for the great Afonso Dalboquerque, informing him that when he left that port, news had just come in from Adem that the Rumes were making themselves ready in Suez with a large fleet, to come up against Ormuz; and although it seemed to him that this news had been circulated by the brothers of Reys Hamed, out of a desire to set the country in an uproar, Afonso Dalbo-

querque turned it to a good advantage in making it serve the purpose which he had for days past been desirous of effecting, which was to get the whole of the king's artillery into his hands by some means which should not cause any scandal. And, in order to give a better air of importance to the matter, he ordered Dom Garcia de Noronha, his nephew, to go with a message to the king, accompanied by certain of the captains and an escort of men-at-arms—for this was the fashion at Ormuz—and give him an account of the news which had arrived concerning the coming of the Rumes, and to acquaint him with the determination of the Portuguese to attack them on the seas, and therefore he begged the king of his kindness to sanction the lending of all his artillery, in order to mount it in the fortress, for his own was required for furnishing his fleet, and was not sufficient for both of these requirements.

When D. Garcia reached the palace with this message, he found the king in company with Reys Nordim and other principal Moors; and as Afonso Dalboquerque had instructed him to take up a dominant position in the palace immediately upon entering it—for if the artillery were not delivered up to him he must take it by force—as soon as he had gone in he stationed a captain with some soldiers on guard at each portal, making show of doing so out of politeness, to avoid bringing armed men to the place where the king was; and when he came up with the king, D. Garcia delivered him the message with which Afonso Dalboquerque had entrusted him.

Reys Nordim replied to the effect that the king looked upon the Portuguese commander as a father, and would do everything that was required of him, and that there was no need of so great a personage as D. Garcia coming upon such a business, when the least person of his household would have sufficed to convey the message, and the king would send him all the artillery for the fortress. Now,

whereas D. Garcia had been instructed by his uncle not to return without first bringing the artillery before him, he replied to Reys Nordim, that seeing that the king would willingly grant that service to Afonso Dalboquerque, let him therefore be so good as to order the immediate delivery of it, for Afonso Dalboquerque had made arrangement for getting ready the fleet that very night, so that if the Rumes were to come, they should not be taken unprepared.

Now Reys Nordim regretted that he had assented to the request of D. Garcia, and became anxious to see him return and take away with him from the palace the armed escort, so that when they had gone he might have time to reflect and consider what to do; therefore he began to temporise, and declared that the man who kept the keys of the magazine had gone out. But Dom Garcia, who was determined not to quit the palace without taking the artillery with him, told him that in matters which were likely to be imperilled by being put off, it was not right that there should be any delay, for he did not intend to go away without the artillery. Reys Nordim, therefore, perceiving that he would gain nothing by his pretended artifices, made a virtue of necessity, and gave orders for taking the fastenings from the doors of the storehouses where it was, and the bombardiers, with their gunners, forthwith began to set up the guns on carriages; and it was about three hours after nightfall when at length all had been put out on the shore (and a beautiful sight it made); and on the next day Reys Nordim wrote the captains of Mascate and Calayate to send him all that they had in their charge; so that by June a galley and a brigantine arrived with it on board, and Afonso Dalboquerque ordered that all should be gathered together and mounted on the walls of the fortress, and thus he secured for himself all the artillery of Ormuz. In this way it turned out that if the news brought by the Moor of

the coming of the Rumes was pretended, at any rate it cost him dear.

Two days after the conclusion of this affair, Afonso Dalboquerque thought it well to go and see the king, to put him into a good humour; and when he reached the palace, Reys Nordim came forward to receive him on a large terrace, from which they both proceeded to an audience with the king; and on arriving at the door of the chamber, Reys Xarafo, chief officer of the king's guard, came up to speak with him, and declared that it was Afonso Dalboquerque to whom he owed the enjoyment of that office, and that he was there as a slave to serve him; and while this talk was going on the king came to the door.

As soon as Afonso Dalboquerque caught sight of him, he went up to him, cap in hand, and desired to kiss his hand The king would not give him his hand, but embraced him and kissed his head—an honour customarily reserved for personages of such dignity—and having thus embraced one another, they went into a chamber built with a carved ceiling, and fitted up with a dais, on which were two chairs, one covered with china silk stuff, for the king, the other, of crimson velvet, for Afonso Dalboquerque, and two cushions of the same suite, on which they placed their feet. And as soon as they seated themselves, they talked for a while upon friendly business, and the king declared that it was the happiest day of his life; and Afonso Dalboquerque replied that it would give him the greatest pleasure and happiness to do any service to those whom he could benefit, and he begged the king to send for the sons of King Ceifadim that he might see them, for they were two youths, each about eight or nine years old, to whom he showed great respect, remembering whose sons they were, and begged the king and Reys Nordim to bring them up very carefully. When the conversation was over, Afonso Dalboquerque took his leave of the king, and Reys Nordim accompanied him as far as the gate of the fortress, and then returned.

CHAPTER XL.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque despatched the Ambassador of the Xeque Ismael, and sent Fernão Gomez de Lemos to go in his company; and the present which was sent to that prince through him.

At this juncture, the ambassador of the Xeque Ismael, perceiving that Afonso Dalboquerque was making preparations to fight the Rumes, begged that he might receive permission to return, for he had been waiting there for several days; so Afonso Dalboquerque lost no time in despatching him, and caused Fernão Gomez de Lemos, brother of Duarte de Lemos da Trofa, to get ready, for he intended to send him in the party as ambassador to the Xeque Ismael; and Gil Simões, page of the King D. Manuel, as scrivener of the embassy, and fitted him out with eight saddle horses to accompany him, all of them caparisoned with silk after our fashion; and also made ready to send to the Xeque, as a present, several things, namely, two cuirass-bodies, one of crimson velvet, the other of brocade; a head-piece and chin-piece, ornamented with gold; a suit of harness embroidered with all its parts; four bracelets of gold and rubies; very rich rings and other very rich jewellery of gold and precious stones; and a short cannon (*berço*), and a gun (*cão*) of metal; and half a dozen matchlocks, and as many cross-bows; and sent him copper, tin, and a small quantity of all the spices of India. And it was to be intimated to the Xeque that he could make use of all that kind of thing whenever he desired, but as he (Afonso Dalboquerque) was always at sea, and brought nothing with him except arms and provisions, therefore he had not sent him a specimen of many other things which there were in Portugal, but of the products of India he had sent that collection, with which he hoped he would be pleased.

And the instructions which were sent were to the effect

that he was to declare to the Xeque Ismael, that if he desired to maintain useful and friendly relations with the King of Portugal his lord, he must send his ambassadors to Portugal, for by means of the Portuguese he would be enabled to destroy the Grand Sultan and the house of Méca; and if the King of Portugal's sanction were given to the fleet, he (Afonso Dalboquerque) would be very well able to help him, for he had now settled himself in Ormuz. But if the Xeque Ismael should be unwilling to send his ambassadors, on the pretext of the great distance (as he had said to Miguel Ferreira), the Portuguese ambassador was instructed to point out, that if the Xeque had need of the friendship of the King of Portugal, he ought not to fear the trouble which the journey would cost one man, who would be taken great care of and well entertained in the vessels going to Portugal. He was also to describe to the Xeque the grandeur of the King and Queen of Portugal, and the incessant wars which they waged against the Moors of Africa and of India, as well as against the Turk and Sultan of Cairo.

When Fernão Gomez was quite prepared to start, Afonso Dalboquerque caused the ambassador to be summoned before him, and told him that in respect of the four things demanded of the Portuguese on behalf of the Xeque Ismael he had looked to them.

As for the first, demanding the dues upon merchandise coming from Persia, payable at Ormuz, they must be his; for the expenses that the King of Ormuz was compelled to spend upon his army and fleet, for the maintenance of his kingdom, were so great (besides the tribute-money paid to the King of Portugal his lord), that were it not for the dues upon the merchandise coming from Persia and other parts, the King of Ormuz could not support himself, for all the remainder of the revenue of his kingdom was but little (as the Xeque knew very well), therefore he could not surrender this part of the revenue to the Xeque.

As for the second, which was a demand of a water-passage for the conveyance of his people to the land of Arabia, he would be very much pleased to accede to this, and give him all the vessels he stood in need of, provided that the Xeque Ismael would give sufficient security to the King of Ormuz that no untoward event should be perpetrated in his lands nor in the island of Barem.[1]

As for the third article of the demands, that, namely, of help by means of men and fleet against the King of Maçaram (who was his vassal, and had revolted against him in the city of Guardaré), he would help the Xeque with all the fleet and forces of the King of Portugal (who had ordered him thus to act), but this would have to be associated with one condition, that the merchandise coming from Persia to Ormuz be not conveyed away thence.

As for the fourth, which consisted in the request of a port in India where the merchants of Persia might carry on their trade, and have permission to establish a factory-house in Ormuz, to this request Afonso Dalboquerque would be exceedingly pleased to assent, but the selected port of India must be Goa, and the entry at Ormuz; for in every other district of India wherein merchants from Persia should be found, they should lose their merchandise and be made subject to the greatest penalties which he could inflict.

And having thus replied to the demands of the ambassador, Afonso Dalboquerque desired him to declare to the Xeque Ismael that he ought to look upon the lands which were thus offered for him to accept as a valuable gift, and to gladly receive the desire of the Portuguese to make him a great lord in his country, on condition that he would preserve it and defend it against its enemies, for he (Afonso) had gained many territories in those parts for the King of Portugal his lord, and hoped yet to subject many others to Portuguese power, and all for the sake of doing the Xeque

[1] See p. 114.

a good turn; and as for the friendship and good assistance which Afonso Dalboquerque desired to proffer him, he was glad to do so to so great a prince; and also he would be highly pleased to order all the soldiers of the Xeque's own faith, who were to be found in India, to be sent to him to enter his service, in accordance with his express desire; and he hoped in God very soon to return to Ormuz, wherein he looked to have leisure to meet him in some one or other of his towns on the coast of the Persian Sea; and to this end he had sent in his company a *Fidalgo*, one of the chief personages of the household of the king his lord, as ambassador to the Xeque Ismael, and begged he might be well received there.

When these interviews were over, Afonso Dalboquerque made him a present of jewels, and dresses, and pepper, for which he asked, and wherewith he was very much pleased. And now, having everything in readiness, the party set out together on the tenth of August in the year fifteen hundred and fifteen. But I do not make any relation of what happened to Fernão Gomez in his embassy, for he did not return until after the death of Afonso Dalboquerque.

CHAPTER XLI.

How the kings of all parts sent their ambassadors to visit the great Afonso Dalboquerque: and how D. Garcia de Noronha begged permission to return to the kingdom of Portugal, and the rest that happened.

After the setting out of these ambassadors to the Xeque Ismael, D. Garcia de Noronha, perceiving that there was but little work yet remaining to be done upon the fortress, begged permission of the great Afonso Dalboquerque, his uncle, to go to Portugal, but as Afonso Dalboquerque found himself indisposed with a very weary illness, and also

because he felt the great value of his personal assistance and service, he was unwilling to accede to the request; nevertheless, D. Garcia, being very greatly desirous of returning, urged his suit so strongly that at length it was granted, but very unwillingly. So he dispatched him on the twenty-ninth day of August of the said year [1515], furnishing him with all authority to load his vessel, and with him he sent to the king D. Manuel a basin, cup, and drinking vessel, and a belt and dagger of solid gold, which had formed part of the present sent to him by the Xeque Ismael, and some caparisons for a horse, made of crimson plates, with the head-piece ornamented with gold inlaying-work, and a saddle ornamented with silver, and a skirt of mail, and a piece of felting cut out and coloured, which although of little price was a fine thing to look at; and in his company he sent fifteen blind kings who were in Ormuz with their wives, children, and servants, with orders to deliver them up at Goa to the captain, who was to keep them under safe guard, giving them everything they required for their maintenance. Afonso Dalboquerque did this with intention of putting an end to the line of kings of Ormuz, and preventing them from being scattered over many parts and so in future times causing troubles to the kingdom.

And he dispatched Antonio de Afonseca, with ten thousand *xerafins*, as factor, and Aires de Magalhães for his scrivener, to make ready for him in Goa a large quantity of provisions and munitions of war, and to repair the vessels that might be in India, and complete the fitting out of the galleys which had been begun when he left Goa, and he wrote to Duarte Barbosa to take care that the two galleys of Calicut should be ready finished for his use, for he had made up his mind that in the following spring he would fit out a large fleet to take Adem and fortify himself

in that place, and force the entry of the Red Sea Straits, and make a settlement in the land of the Preste João.

But God ordered all this according to his own wish, for, when Afonso Dalboquerque reached Goa, he died (as I shall proceed to relate); and if he had not died, Lopo Soarez was on his way to be Governor of India, so that these his wishes could not have been accomplished. And D. Garcia sailed away in the ship *Belém*, and reached Cochim, where, as he was getting ready to sail to Portugal, Lopo Soarez arrived, and some differences arose between them.

As soon as D. Garcia had set out, Afonso Dalboquerque began to feel a little better of his illness; and just at this moment there arrived certain ambassadors from the kings neighbouring upon the kingdom of Ormuz, to visit him, namely, the King of Lara, bringing him a horse for a present, and a letter making a great show of offering him everything that there might be in his country. Lara is three leagues from Ormuz; it is a very large city, situated in Persia, and under the sovereignty of the Xeque Ismael. Afonso Dalboquerque replied to the letter, and caused a visit to be made to him by Fernão Martinz Evangelho, whom he charged with the purchase of horses, for there are many in that land.

After this ambassador there came another from Mirbuzaca, captain of the Xeque Ismael, who lived at Raxel, on the Persian shore of the sea, as I have already related, and he also brought for Afonso Dalboquerque a horse, and a letter of grand offers, begging him to be so kind as to help him by sea to capture the ports and islands lying in the straits of the Persian Sea, then he would be a faithful adherent of the King of Portugal, and pay him tribute for these conquests, and give him all the horses and supplies that he required.

Afonso Dalboquerque would have nothing to do with this request of Mirbuzaca, for he intended to write to the king

an account of it, and to act in the matter in accordance with his wishes, but he wrote in reply a great many thanks for these offers, putting off any movement in the business until his return to Ormuz. And of all the kings and lords of that Persian coast, ambassadors were in waiting, whom Afonso Dalboquerque dispatched with copious expressions of thanks, and presents, which he sent to them, as also to the Moors of Persia and Tartary; and from all the parts of the interior country so many were they who came daily into the fortress in order to look upon Afonso Dalboquerque, that our people could not keep them back; and although his illness prevented him from going out very often, they begged those who were on guard at the doorway of the fortress to at least permit them to get sight of him, for they had come from their own country for this sole purpose. And if at any time he rode on horseback, so large a crowd of people followed after him along the streets, that he could hardly make his way through them; and as the fame of his person, and his greatness, was the topic of all those parts, and in consequence of the news which the ambassadors whom the Xeque Ismael had sent to him had circulated, they sent their servants to him with orders to draw his portrait to the life.

CHAPTER XLII.

How a Captain of the Xeque Ismael came to Ormuz to see the great Afonso Dalboquerque, and the news which he gave him, and the rest that took place.

A few days after D. Garcia de Noronha had set out on his voyage, there arrived from Persia a caravan with many merchants from Tartary, and Russia, and all that part of the world, with their merchandise, whereby the city began

to grow very much ennobled; and in company with them came a captain from the Xeque Ismael, who had set out from the Court with the object of seeing the great Afonso Dalboquerque, on account of the great reputation which he had there, whereat he was highly delighted.

And because it was but a little time past since the Xeque Ismael had had a fierce battle with the Turk, in which this captain had taken part, he asked him all about the engagement; and he told him that the Turks came down with thirty thousand horse, and a large force of infantry, to attack a pass in the mountain range, so as to be enabled to pass through it to Tauriz,[1] and the captains of the Xeque Ismael who were in the van first reached the mountain, and took up a commanding position on it and withstood the passage of the enemy. But when the Xeque himself came up he was angry that they had not allowed the Turk to pass through, and ordered his captains to abandon the pass. When the Turk saw that the pass was no longer threatened, he crossed the mountain and, resting his rear upon it, fortified himself there with a large number of gun carriages chained together, by which means he had encircled the whole of his camp and fifteen thousand musketeers all drawn up in battle array, with determination of there awaiting the attack of the Xeque Ismael, for he had not ventured to go and attack him where he was; and the Turks kept so good a look out in their camp that the Xeque Ismael could never learn in what condition it was; so, like a man who made no account of the Turks, he fell upon them with twenty thousand cavalry. The Turks divided their army into two battalions and came out of the fort that they had constructed, to wait for the onset. When the Xeque Ismael fell upon the Turks, he put them at once to flight, and followed up hotly the pursuit after them until he entered into the camp itself; but as he did not know

[1] See p. 86.

anything about the artillery, nor how it was mounted, nor in what position it commanded, he strove very gallantly to get in along with his adversaries. When the Turk perceived that the Persians were in confusion, he gave the word for firing the artillery, which on the one flank, and the musketeers on the other, made so great a havoc that the Xeque Ismael seeing that he was beaten and a large part of his army killed, retreated rapidly to Tauriz, which lies distant about twenty leagues; and the Turks followed him up rapidly, and, meeting with no resistance, entered the city of Tauriz, and took all the treasure of the Xeque Ismael that there was in it. And while he lay there with the determination of fortifying himself in the city, news was brought to him that the Christians were already on their way to besiege Constantinople, and on this account he abandoned the undertaking and returned in great haste, and the Xeque Ismael reorganised his forces and returned to Tauriz. But certain captains whom the Turk had left behind in the city, as soon as they were apprised of his return, deserted the city and fled away, and when the Xeque Ismael arrived there, he ordered punishment to be inflicted upon all the chief men of the land, because they had allowed the Turks to enter the city without a struggle.

When Afonso Dalboquerque heard all this news he declared (one day when the captains were conversing with him about the enmity which the Xeque Ismael had towards the Turk and the Grand Sultan, concerning differences of their law) that the Xeque Ismael had been a thunderbolt sent down by God upon the sect of Mahomet for the preservation of India, although the Xeque himself was not aware of it; for when he was but a youth of eight years of age, and not holding any influential position, or having any distinction in the kingdom, he had risen up in rebellion, in the year that the admiral[1] discovered India, and being favoured by the assist-

[1] See vol. i, Pref., pp. xv *et seq.*

ance of his uncle had gained possession of Turcomania, Persia, the kingdom of Khorassan, Camarcand, a city of the Tartars, the kingdom of Aquilam,[1] and all Lower Armenia, and many other provinces of the Turks and Tartars, burning all the Moorish mosques, but sparing the Christian churches; and doing all this when only eight years old, what would he not have effected when now twenty-four years old, if God had not ordained that he should have two such powerful enemies as the Turks and the Grand Sultan of Cairo?

And as Afonso Dalboquerque was a great conqueror, and very successful in his method of performing great deeds, he wrote many times to the King D. Manuel to concert with all the Christian Powers that they should be on terms of friendship with the Xeque Ismael, for if he were on their side, they would have no difficulty in ruining the power of the Turk and the Grand Sultan; and to ask the permission of the Pope to send him master workers to make guns for him, for this was the only thing wanting to enable the Xeque to destroy his enemies. The captain of the Xeque Ismael, who had now spent several days in Ormuz, having come simply for the sake of seeing Afonso Dalboquerque, begged permission to return, and Afonso Dalboquerque made him a present of many very valuable lumps of gold, and commanded his people to show him all the artillery that there was in Ormuz, and told him to declare to the Xeque Ismael that by means of that, and much more in Portugal, he would serve him in the name of the King of Portugal against his enemies in any way most convenient to him.

[1] Cf. Gilam, p. 186. Ghilan, or Gilán, a province of Persia, on the South shore of the Caspian Sea. The initial letter A here is only the Portuguese feminine article.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Of the situation of the city of Ormuz and of its commerce.

There are three places in India which serve as marts of all the commerce of merchantable wares in that part of the world, and the principal keys of it.

The first is Malaca,[1] which lies in three degrees [N. lat.] at the entry and exit of the Straits of Singapara, of which I have already made mention.[2] The second is Adem, which is situate in the twenty-first degree of [N.] latitude, in the entry and exit of the Straits of the Red Sea, and of this place I have related all that has come to my knowledge.[3] The third is Ormuz, which is in fifteen degrees [N. lat.], and at the entry and exit of the Straits of the Persian Sea. This city of Ormuz is, according to my idea, the most important of them all. And if the King of Portugal had made himself master of Adem, with a good fortress, such as those of Ormuz and Malaca, and so held the sway over these three Straits which I have specified, he might well have been called the lord of all the world—as did Alexander when he penetrated to the Ganges—for with these three keys in his hands he might shut the doors against all comers. And well do I believe that if death had not cut off Afonso Dalboquerque, all these would have been in his hands. There is much which I could write upon this point, but as it is not my intention to point out the mistakes of others, I must revert to the thread of my narration.

Ormuz is a very ancient place, and by reason of its commerce and navigable position is very much renowned throughout the whole world; but I could not learn the history of its foundation, for it is impossible to believe that it sprang from a band of robbers who scoured the seas for

[1] See vol. iii, pp. 71 *et seq.*

[2] See vol. iii, p. 73.

[3] See the early chapters of this volume.

their prey (just as Corinth began its history), for it is an island of three leagues, all consisting of rock salt, very deficient of water, and dependent on the mainland for all its water-supply. If, on the other hand, it is considered that it was built in the first instance by fishermen who resorted thither in pursuit of their occupation (as was the case with Malaca),[1] this also cannot be the fact, on account of the want of water; which I have just shown. But be this as it may, and let each one attribute to its foundation whatever origin he pleases, nevertheless, the Moors hold Ormuz to be such an important place that they say, "The world is a ring, and the jewel in it is Ormuz"; and so it may well be, for thither pour in all the merchantable commodities of Tartary, Turcomania, the kingdom of Gilam,[2] of Bagadá,[3] and Cairo, and of all the parts of India; and in Ormuz can be obtained every desired kind of merchandise.

There is no country in that part of the world better supplied with provisions, although none whatever are produced in it. In the market of Ormuz may be found every kind of fruit, dried or fresh, just as in Spain. Ormuz, indeed, is so exacting in these things, that at the time when Afonso Dalboquerque was there, the people used to bring snow for sale from a distance of thirty leagues into the interior of Persia. From Ormuz are carried many horses to India, of great price, for they are of the best breed of all. The Straits of the Persian Sea are thickly populated with villages and islands on both sides, chiefly on the Arabian side, where stands the city of Baçora,[4] at which a river rising at the distance of two days' journey from Méca debouches, and divides the whole of the land; and on the Persian side is the Province of Raxel,[5] which contains many

[1] See vol. iii, p. 74. [2] See note, p. 184. [3] Baghdad.

[4] Basrah Town, the port of Mesopotamia. The entrance lies in 30 deg. 32 min. N. lat.; 47 deg. 51 min. E. long.

[5] See the map at vol. i, p. 80 (*Reril*). Cf. vol. iv, p. 115.

villages and fortresses along the sea, engaged in a flourishing trade, and accustomed to import all kinds of Persian merchandise; and at the head of all this strait lies the city of Bagadá,[1] which used to belong to the lords of Armenia, but the Xeque Ismael took it from him, and now the Turk is lord of it. Three great rivers[2] unite into one there; one is called Euphrates, the other Tigris, and the third Fizam; and it is said that they come from a great lake lying in the interior of Persia, and at the spot where this enters the sea the Moors call it Xerdebaudá, and the watér has an immense force.

From this city of Bagadá, there used in the ancient days to come various merchantable wares to Ormuz, but this trade is now forbidden by the King of Portugal. The Straits also contain an island called Barem,[3] noted for its large breeding of horses, its barley crops, and the variety of its fruits. And all around it are the fishing grounds of seed pearls, and of pearls, which are sent to these realms of Portugal, for they are better and more lasting than any that are found in any other of these parts. Besides these principal places the whole shore on the Persian side of the sea is filled with numerous little villages having a small trade, and, indeed, the whole sea is overrun with small vessels of light draught on account of the frequent shallows: and all these places supply Ormuz with a great quantity of silk, which is exported to India. The greater number of the inhabitants of this island are Persians, and the language which is most commonly employed there is the Persian. This island,

[1] Baghdad.

[2] At Kurnah, to the N. of Basrah, or Bassorah, is the meeting of the three great rivers, Euphrates or El Frát, Tigris or El Imarah, and Kerkhan or Hawiza. To the S. of Basrah, on the W. side, is the River Karun. After passing Basrah the stream is called Basrah River or Shatt El Arab. See Gen. F. R. Chesney's *Narrative of the Euphrates Expedition*, 1835-7. London: 1868 (Map).

[3] See p. 114.

too, contains many sulphur mines, and in the summer, on account of the sun's great heat, it is somewhat unhealthy. Its dominion extends as far as Goader,[1] a large city which lies in the land of the Noutaques.

CHAPTER XLIV.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque, on account of his illness, held a conversation with the captains with regard to the succession in case of his death; and what was agreed upon on this behalf, and how he sailed away to India.

Now, inasmuch as the great Afonso Dalboquerque never went away from work, by day or by night, in the hopes of making an end of the building of the fortress with rapidity, and as the heat was great, and he himself old and in a bad state of health, the illness he suffered from began again to attack him with greater vehemence, and for eleven days he had not gone out of doors, nor had any one seen him except his own intimate friends. But, as it was thought strange that the people had not seen him, it began to be rumoured through the city that he was dead; so that he was compelled, in order to allay the apprehensions of the Moors and our own people, to show himself in public; and from that time forward he permitted some of the captains to see him, although his illness was so great that it would scarcely allow it. Every day he became worse, and felt so weak that at length, on the twenty-sixth day of the month of September, he summoned all the captains to his house, and in the presence of Pero Dalpoem, the secretary, declared to them that he was an old man, and attacked with an illness which might prove fatal at any moment. Nevertheless,

[1] See map at p. 80, vol. i—Guadel district, and Guadel port, to the east of Ormuz; and the earlier map at p. 1, vol. ii—Guadel, on the coast of the Noutaques.

because, if it were our Lord's will that his career should be finished, he was desirous of leaving the affairs of the kingdom in proper order, and the fortress that he was engaged upon finished, to the advantage of the king, his lord's service, therefore he desired them of his goodness to give him their oaths of fealty that they would obey that person to whom he, before his death, should delegate his powers, until the king D. Manuel could make provision in this case in accordance with his own desires.

The captains answered him with many tears, hoping that our Lord would grant him that good health which every one desired him to enjoy, and that it was proper for the preservation of the King of Portugal's estate in that part of the world that he should do what he pleased, for they would all be very happy to do his bidding, and to obey him to whom he should entrust his authority. Afonso Dalboquerque, with many kindly words gave them many thanks for their good wishes for his health, and received from every one an oath of allegiance, which they made at his hands, that they would submit themselves in the king's name to him whom he should nominate; and of this proceeding he ordered Pero Dalpoem the secretary to draw up a record, which was signed by every one.

When this was over, Afonso Dalboquerque finding himself daily growing more seriously ill, made his will, and turned his attention to religious matters. And after having thus put himself right in the sight of God, confessed, and communicated, and performed all the acts of a Christian, on the twentieth day of the month of October he called Pero Dalboquerque his nephew, son of Jorge Dalboquerque his cousin-german, and told him that as he was of such a character that the men would be glad to remain in the fortress with him; and also because the King of Ormuz had always evinced a great regard for him, and expressed a wish that he should always remain there; and, further, as he deserved

it by reason of his knightly prowess and nobility of birth, he would appoint him to the charge over the fortress in the name of the King of Portugal, with four hundred thousand reis and two hundred quintals of pepper as well, for salary every year; and from that time forward he must give his attention to the construction of the fortress, for he had no longer any desire, either of body or mind, to interest himself in any other thing except only the account which he must render to God for the bad services that he had rendered; let him therefore order the artillery to be mounted in the appointed places, for the fortress had already reached a height sufficient to enable its defence to be maintained, and call it Nossa Senhora da Conceiçao, "Our Lady of the Conception," and give orders for the collection of all the supplies that were outside in the house of the Almoxarife, or receiver of customs. And he told him that he would leave Nicolão Ferreira as chief guard of the King of Ormuz, and would strongly recommend him to a favourable reception; and then he ordered the two sons of King Ceifadim to be brought before him, and delivered them up into the care of Pero Dalboquerque, telling him that he begged him earnestly to look to their care, and keep them with him as a curb upon the king, whom indeed he was leaving in Ormuz against his will, for he had killed his brother, King Ceifadim, and risen up and usurped his kingdom, but he (Afonso Dalboquerque) had dissembled with him thus far because these two youths were not sufficiently old to conduct the government.

Pero Dalboquerque, after kissing his hands in token of thanks for the gift he had made to him of the fortress, told him that he would rather that he would select from among so many captains, fidalgoes, and cavaliers, some other one for that position (for everyone of them deserved it more than he did), but whatever benefit could arise to him from being the commander of the fortress, in all things he would

act in obedience to his commands. As soon as it was known that Pero Dalboquerque was appointed captain of the fortress, many became discontented, (for each one of the captains thought himself would be chosen); but they were unreasonable, for he was a man of rare qualities and showed his spirit well in the account he gave of himself during the time that he held that position. And from that time forward he busied himself on the erection of the fortress and preparation of all that was required. Afonso Dalboquerque then appointed as factor, Manuel da Costa, son of Master Afonso, chief physician of the king D. Manuel; and as scriveners of the factory, Manuel de Sequeira, page of the Duchess of Braganza, and Diogo Dandrade, page of the Royal Chamber.

And when all this had been arranged he ceased to trouble himself with any other business, and would not be consulted upon any other affairs; and ordered Diogo Fernandez de Béja to get the ship *Flor da Rosa*, of which he was the captain, ready for him, that he might sail away to India, with all the ships which were to go in his company. And thus having settled the manner of his departure, he sent word to the King of Ormuz by Pero Dalpoem and Alexander de Ataide, that he was desirous of going away, for it was absolutely necessary for him (dead or alive) to go and set the affairs of India in order; therefore he begged him earnestly to forgive his not having taken a personal farewell, for his illness had increased to so great a degree that it gave him no opportunity of doing so, but he trusted in God that he would be able very soon to return and visit him; and that he would leave Pero Dalboquerque his nephew as captain of the fortress, and he was assured that that commander would serve him very well. The king replied to Pero Dalpoem that he must declare to his father how grieved he was at his departure, but he would be supported by the hope of speedily seeing him again.

Thereupon Afonso Dalboquerque, being so eagerly desirous of setting out on the way to India, took his leave of Pero Dalboquerque, and the captains who were to remain behind, and went on board on Thursday the eighth day of the month of November of the same year [1515], about six o'clock, that no one might take notice of him, and immediately set sail and brought up again at anchor about a league's distance from the city, and there he remained waiting for the two great galleys and the caravela of João Gomez, and the brigantine *Sanctiago* which were to accompany him in the passage. And on Saturday morning Hacem Ali arrived with two native war-boats (*terradas*) laden with refreshments sent to him by the king; so he ordered him to be brought into the chamber where he was. And after Hacem Ali had delivered the king's message, Afonso Dalboquerque replied, thanking him very much for his visit, and saying that he had felt better after he had got out to sea; and that now he was no longer present in Ormuz, he begged the king would pay better attention to the work of the fortress, for it was the best thing he could have in the kingdom for the preservation of his state; and then he bade him farewell, giving him thirty *xerafins*, and to the Moors who navigated the *terradas* forty, and a good supply of wine to drink, which pleased them more than the money did. And as soon as they were gone he set sail and steered away direct to India.

CHAPTER XLV.

How the great Afonso Dalboquerque, by means of a war-boat which he captured on the way coming from Diu, learned that Lopo Soarez had come as Governor of India; and how he died on reaching the bar of Goa.

Directly that Hacem Ali had taken his leave, the great Afonso Dalboquerque bade Diogo Fernandez de Béja to clap on all sail, and having now got clear out of the throat of the Straits of Ormuz, as far advanced as Calayate,[1] one day in the morning a Moorish *terrada* or native war-boat hove in sight, under full sail; and as Afonso Dalboquerque was very desirous of knowing some news from India, he told Diogo Fernandez, captain of the ship, to send the brigantine *Sanctiago* after her, who chased her so close that she struck sail. And after he had gone on board, Diogo Fernandez enquired of them whence they came? The Moors replied that they came from Diu. Afonso Dalboquerque thereupon ordered that the captain, master, and pilot should be brought before him; and when they were there, he commanded Alexandre de Ataíde, the interpreter, upon his oath, to conceal nothing from him that these Moors should reveal, nor any of the news of India that they might give. The Moors craved pardon of Afonso Dalboquerque because they had not struck sail immediately the brigantine bore down upon them, alleging as an excuse that they did not know that he himself was in the ship. But as the disease with which he was suffering was hastening him to his end, and the mere act of conversation wearied him, he desired Alexandre de Ataíde to make very searching inquiries of them concerning Indian news, and to what port they were bound.

The captain of the *terrada* confessed that Cide Ale, and

[1] See vol. i, p. 213.

an ambassador of the Xeque Ismaël who was at Diu, had dispatched him with letters for his lordship (Afonso Dalboquerque), and in these they might see for themselves the news of India. Then Afonso Dalboquerque ordered Alexandre de Ataíde to read the letters at once. That written by Cide Ale stated that twelve[1] ships had come from Portugal, and with them Lopo Soarez as captain major of India, and Diogo Mendez as captain of the fortress of Cochim, and other captains for all the other fortresses, as they were therein named, and that Miliqueaz had not written to him because he was very much offended at the king having ordered him to leave India.

And in the letter sent by the ambassador of the Xeque Ismael to Afonso Dalboquerque it was written, that inas-

[1] The British Museum MS. 20,902, f. 18, gives the following account of the fleet of *fifteen* ships that sailed from Portugal to India in A.D. 1515:—

"Loppo Soares de Albergaria, Governador da India.
"Anno de 1515.
"15 Naôs, a 7 de Abril.

"O Gouernador Loppo Soares Capitão Mor de quinze Naos, partio a sete de Abril, Capitão Dom Guterre de Monroy, Castelhano, Simão da Silueyra, Aluaro telles, Diogo Mendes de Vasconcellos, Jorge de Brito, Copeiro mor del Rey, Fernão Peres de Andrade, Dom Aleixo de Meneses, Christouão de Tauora, Dom João da Silui[a], Aluaro Barretto, Franco de Tauora, Simão dalcaçeva, Antonio lobbo falcão, Jorge Mascarenhas, Dõ Aleixo foi por Capitão mór do Mar, Sobrinho do Gouernador e nas absençias tinha poderes de G[ouernad]or."

"João de Barros diz, que foram somente treze naôs, e não conta mais, que os treze capitães seguintes nesta forma=D. Gutterre de Monroy Castelhano na *Piedade* = Simam da Silveira en *S^to Antonio* = Christouão de Tavora = Alvaro Tellez Barreto em *S. Gião* = Fr^co de Tavora em *S.Christovão* = D. João da Silveira em *S^ta Maria da Serra* = Jorge de Brito Copeiro Môr del Rey = Alvaro Barreto = Simão de Alcaçova = D. Aleixo de Menezes = Diogo Mendes de Vasconcellos Cap^am e Feytor de Cochim = Fernam Peres de Andrade."

From this latter paragraph it appears that the number of ships, according to Barros, was *thirteen*. Correa says twelve *naos* and three *navios*, and gives his own list of captains, etc.—*Lendas*, ii, 463.

much as the King of Portugal so badly recognised his knightly deeds and his services, he advised him to take service with the Xeque Ismael, for he was sure the Xeque would appreciate his services by making him one of the greatest lords of his land; and he desired a safe-conduct to bring his merchandise to Ormuz and so take it to Persia.

When Afonso Dalboquerque learned that another governor had come out in his stead, and saw how his enemies were in favour with the king, he lifted up his hands, and gave thanks to Our Lord, and cried: "In bad repute with men because of the king, and in bad repute with the king because of the men. It were well that I were gone." And having said so he ordered that all the letters which the Moors were carrying to Ormuz should be taken from them, wherein it was advised that if a fortress had not already been given to Afonso Dalboquerque, that it should not be now granted, for another governor had been appointed who would do anything they wished. And in order that those letters should do no harm to the building of the fortress he caused them all to be burned, and bade the Moors begone, and remained alone with his secretary; and having already made his testament, wherein he expressed a desire to be interred in his chapel that he had built in Goa, which he had taken from the Moors, he added a codicil whereby he ordered that his bones, after the flesh had been consumed, should be carried to Portugal; and other matters not necessary to be written here.

And when this was done he wrote a letter to the king D. Manuel after the following words:—"Sire, I am writing this letter to Your Highness while I am suffering from a spasm which is a signal of my dissolution. In the kingdom of Portugal I have a son, and I beg Your Highness to ennoble him for my sake, as a reward for the services which I have performed for Your Highness in accordance with my condition of being your servant; for I command

him on pain of forfeiting my blessing to ask this at your hands. And as for the affairs of India I say nothing, for they will speak for themselves and for me."

At this time he had become so weak that he could not stand, ever desiring Our Lord to take him to Goa, and there do with him as should be best for his service; and when the ship was yet distant three or four leagues from the bar, he ordered them to summon Fr. Domingos, the Vicar-General, and Master Afonso, the physician. And as he was so weak that he could not eat anything, he ordered his attendants to give him a little of the red wine which had been sent that year from Portugal. And when the brigantine had sailed away in advance to Goa, the vessel proceeded to cast anchor on the bar, on Saturday night, the fifteenth day of the month of December. When they told Afonso Dalboquerque that he was at the end of his voyage, he lifted up his hands and gave many thanks to Our Lord because he had vouchsafed to grant him that mercy which he had so earnestly desired, and thus he remained all through that night (with the Vicar-General, who had already come off from the shore to the ship, and Pero Dalpoem, Secretary of India, whom he constituted his executor), embracing the crucifix and continually talking; and he desired the Vicar-General, who was his confessor, to recite the Passion of Our Lord, written by St. John, to which he was always devoted, for in it, and in that Cross which was made in the likeness of that whereon Our Lord had suffered, and on his Wounds, he rested all the hope of his salvation: and he commanded them to attire him in the habit of Sanctiago, whereof he was a "Commendador", that he might die in it; and on the Sunday, one hour before the morning, he rendered up his soul to God; and there finished all his troubles without seeing any satisfaction of them. And we may well believe that one who thus finished his life could not have so many errors of commission laid to his charge that the king whom

he had served very loyally should command him to return to Portugal without rewarding his services; but whereas Afonso Dalboquerque had enemies in the King's Council who were envious of his greatness and of the glorious victories which Our Lord had granted him in those countries, they prevailed upon the king D. Manuel to command his return, and they did not fail to allege reasons for this according to their intent, and to send Lopo Soarez as Governor of India. But when the king perceived his mistake, and the need he had of Afonso Dalboquerque's personal presence in India, he wrote a letter to Lopo Soarez, which I have given further on in my work, having ordered it to be transcribed from the original which I found among my papers.

CHAPTER XLVI.

How the body of the great Afonso Dalboquerque was carried to burial in his chapel, and the great mourning which was made for him; and of his life and manners.

Now that the great Afonso Dalboquerque had expired, before any one came from the city he was immediately enshrouded and clothed in the habit of Sanctiago, with some buskins on his legs, and spurs on the boots, and a sword in his belt — after the customary manner of burying the Commendadors—and on his head was placed a velvet cap, and at his neck a stole of the same. And when the body had been thus attired, Pero Dalpoem gave orders to lay down carpets on the quarterdeck of the ship, and there they set out the body upon a bier covered with a pall of black velvet, with a cushion of the same material at the head. And Diogo Fernandez de Béja, who was the captain, ordered a boat to be made ready wherein the body was to be conveyed to land; and when morning came, the people

of the city began to assemble in boats with a great outcry to accompany him, but when they heard that he was dead, so great was the crying and weeping on all sides that it seemed as if the very river of Goa was being poured out; and because the people were in a great throng he was immediately put into the boat and so carried to the city.

And when the quay was reached where D. Goterres,[1] captain of the city, and all the Fidalgoes and Cavaliers, and all the populace and clerks and friars were waiting, the body was taken out of the boat to the land on the biers on which it had rested, and thereupon uprose another fresh outbreak of lamentations. And after praying for him, which the clerks and friars could not do without weeping, the Fidalgoes who were standing by took up the bier on their shoulders and beneath the pall bore him to his chapel of "Our Lady of the Conception", where he was interred, while there accompanied the procession all the people of the city, not only Christians but Hindoos and Moors, who filled the streets, demonstrating by the profusion of their tears the great sorrow they felt at his death. As for the Hindoos, when they beheld his body stretched upon the bier, with his long beard reaching down to his waist and his eyes half open, they declared, after their heathen notions, that it could not be that he was dead, but that God had need of him for some war and had therefore sent for him. And thus, after this order and with these lamentations and outcries, all arrived with the body at the chapel which he had founded over against the city gate, where he entered when he took the city from the Moors, and there were performed the last rites of the Church over him with a sermon of which I could gladly say much. And for the support of this chapel, he left in Goa an ample revenue in ground rents of houses to be paid for the performance of daily Services, and the remainder to be given away for alms every

[1] D. Goterre de Monroy; *Correa.*

Friday to orphan boys, sons of Portuguese parents. And when his son Afonso Dalboquerque desired to remove his bones to Portugal he obtained permission by a Papal Bull to sell the property, and built a hospital for pilgrims in Azeitão and a church adjoining it with the money, leaving in Goa property which renders forty thousand *reis* for a daily mass in the said chapel, in accordance with the express provision of the Pope's Bull.

When the funeral ceremonies were over, Pero Dalpoem caused a monument of three steps covered over with black velvet to be placed over the grave, and the chapel to be hung with black cloth; and he ordered to be suspended over the grave the royal flag which Afonso Dalboquerque always carried before him to battle, for it had been sent to him by the king D. Manuel from Abrantes (for the plague was ripe at Lisbon) to the port of Belem, when he was on the point of departure. This is now preserved in the principal chapel of Our Lady of Grace where his bones are interred.

This great captain was a man of middle stature, with a long face, fresh coloured, the nose somewhat large. He was a prudent man, and a Latin scholar, and spoke in elegant phrases; his conversation and writings showed his excellent education. He was of ready words, very authoritative in his commands, very circumspect in his dealings with the Moors, and greatly feared yet greatly loved by all, a quality rarely found united in one captain. He was very valiant and favoured by fortune. The king D. Fernando [II], King of Castile, said to Pero Correa, when he was Portuguese ambassador to the court, that it was a very astonishing thing that the king D. Manuel his son should have ordered Afonso Dalboquerque to return from India, seeing that he was so great a captain and so fortunate in his wars. He always gained the victory in his battles, both at sea and on land, against the Moors, sometimes indeed being wounded, for the places where he was posted were

not very secure. He was very prompt in the performance of any undertaking when he had once determined upon it, and his name and his successes are so celebrated among all the kings and princes of Europe and Asia, that the Grand Turk when conversing with D. Alvaro do Sande, captain of the Emperor Charles V, whom he held in captivity, concerning the state of India, laid his hand on his breast and said that Afonso Dalboquerque had been a very remarkable captain. He was a man of the strictest veracity, and so pure in the justice he administered that the Hindoos and Moors after his death, whenever they received any affront from the Governors of India used to go to Goa to his tomb, and make offerings of choice flowers, and of oil for his lamp, praying him to do them justice. He was very charitable to the poor, and settled many women in marriage in Goa. For he was of such a generous disposition that all the presents and gifts which the kings of India bestowed on him—and they were numerous and of great value—he divided among the captains and Fidalgoes who had assisted him in obtaining them. He was very honourable in his manner of life, and so careful over his language, that the greatest oath which he ever took when he was very much enraged was this: "I abhor the life that I live." He died at the age of seventy-three years, having governed India for ten years.

CHAPTER XLVII.

How the king D. Manuel repented of having ordered the return of Afonso Dalboquerque from India and sent word that he was not to come back; and of the letter which he wrote thereupon to Lopo Soarez the Governor of India.

Lopo Soarez having set sail for India in the capacity of Governor during the month of March in the year 1515,

in the following August news reached the king D. Manuel by way of Venice (for he always received news from that city of the movements of the Grand Sultan and from his ambassador at Rome), that the Grand Sultan of Cairo, annoyed at the Portuguese having entered the Straits of the Red Sea, had caused a large fleet of galleys and galleons to be made ready at Suez, with a large body of fighting men and artillery to proceed to India, principally to the kingdom of Ormuz, to prevent Afonso Dalboquerque from getting possession of it. The king, disappointed at this intelligence, and sorry at having recalled him, made up his mind to act vigorously in the way of supporting his Indian forces as quickly as he could, and ordered the immediate preparation of a fleet, so as to be able in March of the year 1516 to draft a large body of them to India; and he wrote to Lopo Soarez the following letter, telling him all this news which had come to hand of the projected fleet of the Sultan, and telling him what to do to confine himself to his proper sphere of duty if he had already entered upon his office in India:—

"Lopo Soarez, friend, we, the king, send you our hearty greeting. Because not many days past news has reached us that the Grand Sultan is preparing a fleet in Suez for his service in India, we hereby acquaint you of the manner in which you must proceed in case the fleet of the Sultan shall have passed into Indian waters, though we trust in Our Lord that this is not the case; for we ought to provide against and counteract a thing so prejudicial to our service, and one calculated, as we fear, to bring about the complete subversion of Portuguese influence in that part of the world. And in consideration of that which should result in the greatest security, and give the best grounds of success, it has seemed best for our service, in case the said fleet of the Sultan shall have entered into Indian seas and Afonso Dalboquerque still be there, to order him not to

make any new arrangements for his return to these kingdoms as we had ordered him, but to remain with you in our service, and that you—because Cochim and Calicut are places of such great and manifest importance, and inseparably bound up with the preservation of our estate in India—remain therein (in India) as captain major and governor, Malaca being also subject to your command; and that you take command of four hundred of the men who went out with you, choosing those whom you prefer, to keep them with you, over and above those going on service in the said fortresses, and all the fleet on duty at Malaca and Cochim, and that you take up residence in whichever of the said fortresses of Cochim and Calicut that you prefer, and in which you perceive it most advantageous to the security and good of our service. And we hold it good that the lading of the vessels going to India every year, and returning with spices, be under your control without the intervention of any one therein except only the factor and officers of the factory.

"And we will that all the other fortresses, soldiers, fleets, and forces, as well of sea as of land, remain under the command of Afonso Dalboquerque for our service and in expectation of eventualities, and in order to render aid by reinforcements when required at any place where difficulties may arise in respect of the said fleet of the Sultan; and he is to labour to destroy it (as we trust in the Lord he will destroy it); and we have written to him at length to this effect.

"And although we repose entire confidence in you, that you will serve us in this business with the great bravery and with the knightly deeds which you are accustomed to perform, yet in an affair so new and untried, and of so great a need, it does not appear to us that you would be able to cope with it unassisted, if the Sultan's fleet were once to gain an entry into India; for it is impossible that you should be endowed with qualities such as we know are pos-

sessed by Afonso Dalboquerque, for the advancement and security of our state in those parts of the world, because of his experience during many years, and because of his acquaintance with the kings and lords who are our true friends and servants, and also because of his knowledge of those who are not so, but opposed to us, and of his knowing the heart and disposition of each one, having been so long among them, and had dealings with them and made trial of them, and also because of the matters in which he can exercise his care, and his ability to destroy those combinations in which he dare not hope to find perfect fidelity of action towards our service, so as thereby to prevent the enemy from combining with one another against us. And for all these reasons and others which may arise, it is expedient that we take advantage of the especial as well as of the general experience which he possesses not only in naval but also in military matters; and principally we regard the great victories with which Our Lord has ever favoured him in those parts, in all the things to which he has set his hand and which he has undertaken: for we trust in His mercy that He will give him the victory even in this enterprise; for albeit that many men are available for many things, and in him we ought to have entire confidence, as we have in you, not only for this matter but even greater matters, (although it may turn out to be nothing after all but an idle rumour), by making use of his services, whom Our Lord has already assisted in these very enterprises, it seems likely that the business may thereby be better carried and completed, especially when one knows the method of carrying them on as Afonso Dalboquerque does.

"And because this is a matter which so closely appertains to, and is involved in, our service, honour, and estate, as you will easily perceive, we recommend you and command you by especial orders in no wise to resist this which we desire you to do, but to assist us in the manner herein described.

"And because the military operations which ensue upon the entry of the Sultan's fleet into India will undoubtedly entail upon us considerable expenditure, we command the officials of Cochim, Calicut, and Malaca, in case Afonso Dalboquerque requires any money or supplies from our stores, to send them to him immediately without the least delay in accordance with the provision which we have on this behalf dispatched to the said Afonso Dalboquerque. We do also notify this to you that you may know in what way we order it, and that you may not prevent it, but rather we desire you heartily to exercise in this matter all the attention possible, in order that all that Afonso Dalboquerque may require in respect of this matter may be thoroughly performed.

"Done at Almeirim, the twentieth day of March, in the year 1516."

CHAPTER XLVIII.

The state in which the great Afonso Dalboquerque left India at the time of his death.

The great Afonso Dalboquerque perceiving the desires of the king D. Manuel for universal peace in India, which he had indeed frequently expressed in his letters, for if a perpetual warfare were maintained it could not be well prosecuted because of the great expenses which it produced, laboured earnestly as long as he lived to maintain peace with all the kings and Hindoo lords of those parts, maintaining with them a constant intercourse, sending his messengers to them and offering to place at their disposal the fleets of the King of Portugal for the destruction of the Moors, and the casting them out of the country, which indeed they had wrested from the native rulers, especially the King of Narsinga, to whom not once but many times he sent Portuguese ambassadors, desirous of procuring his friendship and

begging him to turn his attention to operations calculated to crush the Hidalcão and the King of Decam; and with all the other Hindoo kings from the Cape of Comorim up into the interior country, not only along the sea-shore, but also into the midland tracts, he also held friendly relations with a view of attracting them to be on peaceable terms with the King of Portugal, sending ambassadors to them in that king's name, and offering them his fleets and his forces.

This policy was carried out so consistently, that everyone endeavoured to be on terms of the greatest friendship with Afonso Dalboquerque; some showed it by their obedience, which they sent to assure him of by their messengers; others by the tribute which they rendered to him out of their revenues; others listened to the kind and peaceable expressions which he employed when he negotiated with them; and others again were attracted by the jewels and presents which he sent to them on the part of the king D. Manuel; others also offered him sites in their harbours for the erection of fortresses, actuated by a desire to maintain trade and friendship with the Portuguese, for they looked upon them at this time like Indian neighbours. And if death had not carried him off, the magnanimity of his spirit was such, that the King of Portugal would have become, by his assistance, lord of the whole of India; for, putting aside all thought of the Hindoos (whom he knew very well how to manage), the Moors feared him so greatly (because in his manner of conducting wars he was so fierce and dashing), that the Hidalcão, great lord as he was, and at the head of a large force, occupying a commanding position over against Goa which Afonso Dalboquerque had forcibly dispossessed him of, frequently made overtures of friendship to him, fearing lest he should invade his territories. And indeed it would not have been very difficult to carry out such an invasion, if the King of Narsinga had operated in conjunction with him on the interior border, as he had often sent

word he would do if required, and sent him many messengers and presents; and even his mother, whose influence was paramount in that country, interposed as a mediator towards the settlement of this friendship, offering him all her forces against anyone whom he wished to attack.

At the time of Afonso Dalboquerque's death peace was universal from Ormuz to Ceylon; and all the kingdom of Cambay, Chaul, Dabul, Goa, Onor, Baticalá to Mount De Deli, Cananor, Cochim, Caicoulão to the Cape of Comorim,—all the kings, lords, and marine merchants,—and the interior lands he left so quiet and well-ordered that there was never a nation left so completely conquered and subdued by force of arms as this was. And the land had by this time become so pacified, that the Portuguese used to carry on their merchant business in every place, without being robbed of anything, or being taken captive; and they used to navigate the whole of the Indian sea in their ships, vessels, small and large *zambucos*, and used to cross the sea in safety from one part to the other; and the natives on their part used to visit Goa with their wares without any molestation being offered to them. And from the Cape of Comorim eastward Afonso Dalboquerque left the kings of those countries in perfect peace and friendship with the King of Portugal, sending to them ambassadors bearing presents in his name, and they sent similarly to him. Among these I may name the King of Pegú, the King of Bengála, the King of Pedir, the King of Siam, the King of Pacé, and the fortress of Malaca in repose. He remained also in the closest terms of peace with the King of China, and the King of Java, the King of Maluco, with the Gores, and all the other neighbouring princes were kept by him in a state of submission and tranquillity.

The principal means by which India was tranquillized, and the spirit of its kings and lords tamed, was that they perceived the intimate relations which the great Afonso

Dalboquerque held with the Xeque Ismael, with intention of overcoming the house of Méca and destroying the Grand Sultan, and all the Moors, sending his ambassadors to them with presents; and also with the Preste João, desiring him to cut through a range of hills and divert the course of the Nile into another bed so as to ruin Cairo; and that they saw him also erecting powerful fortresses in India; they saw him provided with plenty of artillery, plenty of shipping vessels and galleys; they saw him surrounded with numerous Portuguese households, youths and girls born in their land; they saw houses of stone and mortar erected; orchards planted; arable lands cultivated, and the increase of all kinds of stock; they saw his commerce flourishing both on sea and on land; they saw everywhere around them order and justice and good government prevailing, and many other matters of civilization belonging to the people who were settling in the land and intended to establish their progress therein.

The fame of this ran through all the lands of India, Persia, Cairo, and Turkey. The Grand Sultan used to enquire if there were many families established in India, and the Hidalcão how many young men and girls there were in Goa, for they were not afraid of any hurt the Portuguese could do them on the sea, but only of the colonization which this people desired to effect in the land. And when the Moors beheld the [apparently] limited power of fleets and fighting men belonging to the King of Portugal in India, they looked upon all these conquests and successes as nothing less than miracles. Afonso Dalboquerque, with that greatness of spirit which always characterised him, frequently used to say, that he trusted in Our Lord for taking Adem and establishing the Portuguese therein, so as to be thereby enabled to close the Straits with a powerful fortress, to the end that the Grand Sultan should finally abandon his hope of becoming chief lord of India; and when this had

been successfully carried out then only to return again to Portugal for a short rest, to lean a little while on the handle of the hoe.[1] But Our Lord in his divine providence cut all this short when he took him to himself.

At the time of Afonso Dalboquerque's death he left in Malaca—twice captured by his arms from the Moors—a very strongly fortified fortress, with ample supplies of artillery and plenty of men to keep it. He left another in Ormuz, completed, and furnished with a large body of soldiers and great quantity of guns, and all that kingdom under the obedience of the King of Portugal—this, too, he had captured on two occasions from the Moors. He left a fortress in Calicut, of great defensive strength, provided with men and guns. He left the fortress of Cochim finished and in the same condition as it now stands—he had commenced to build it on the occasion of his first visit to India—furnished with seven very large elephants employed in the ship-yard on the beach. He rebuilt the fortress of Cananor with stone and mortar, for up to that time it was built with mud.[2] He left fleets attached to all these fortresses for their protection and maintenance. He left the City of Goa fortified with many castles set around the island for its safety;—this too had been taken twice under his assault from the Moors. He left therein many Portuguese families, many Hindoos converted to Christianity, and a large body of mounted men. He left many armourers, and officers employed in the setting of jewels and precious stones, saddle-makers, buckler-makers, blacksmiths, stone-masons, gun-founders, master-workmen skilled in the manufacture of matchlocks, ships' carpenters, caulkers; and the greater part of these Portuguese, the rest native Christians, as true vassals and subjects of the King of Portugal as though they were natives of Portugal.

[1] *A repousar hum pouco sobre o cabo da enxada*, evidently a proverbial expression.

[2] *Taipa.*

He left the magazines of Goa supplied with large quantities of weapons, many caparisons for horses, many saddles, much store of gunpowder, cannon balls, and all other kinds of necessary munitions of war. He left in the harbour a fleet of fifty sail, counting vessels, ships, and galleys, and *fustas*—a large assembly for those days—besides the *paráos* and merchant vessels not taken into consideration in this estimate. He ordered money to be struck at Goa and Malaca in the name of the King of Portugal; and this was current throughout the whole of India. He was the first captain of the King of Portugal who penetrated the Straits of the Red Sea.[1] "*Y quien mas hiziere passe a delante*", "And let him who does more than all this take precedence of him," which is the inscription that the Count Fernão Gonçalvez ordered to be set up on his sepulchre, which stands at the entry of the door of the monastery church where he lies buried.

CHAPTER XLIX.

How the bones of the great Afonso Dalboquerque were conveyed to Portugal: and how they were carried to [the church of] Our Lady of Grace.

The great Afonso Dalboquerque having made and ratified his testament, wherein he left orders that he should be interred in his chapel of Our Lady which he had built in Goa, on the occasion of returning from the conquest of the Kingdom of Ormuz, and leaving behind a fortress built in that city, as has been already related, he added a codicil to it, in these words: "I declare, that in case of my death in these parts of India—which may Our Lord of His mercy not permit—for certain just causes which move me to this end, and for the rest of my soul, I command that after the flesh

is consumed, my bones be conveyed to Portugal and interred [in the church of] Our Lady of Grace, of the Order of St. Augustine, where my ancestors lie." A matter thus earnestly desired by Afonso Dalboquerque, the conveying of his bones to Portugal (as is shown by these words in the codicil), it would have been carelessness on the part of his son to let fifty-one years pass away without fulfilment; but as this duty was incumbent upon Pero Correa, and being executor he was bound to perform it, the son remains excused, for this very Pero Correa frequently desired the king D. Manuel to give him permission to get them conveyed away, but the king never would consent, declaring that as long as he had the bones of Afonso Dalboquerque safe in Goa, India was secure. But, on the death of Pero Correa, this duty devolved upon his son as his heir, who strove hard with King John the Third to obtain this permission; nevertheless it was always denied him, by reason of the constant representations made to the king by the inhabitants of Goa, and, indeed, of all India, not to yield in the matter. When this king died, however, and Queen Dona Catharina[1] our Lady was ruling these kingdoms for the king D. Sebastião her grandson,[2] he renewed his endeavours to obtain his desire, but several years passed without attaining his wishes, for it was necessary to obtain a Papal bull, couched in terms of greater excommunication against the inhabitants of Goa, to prevent their hindering him. It seemed, indeed, that the fitting opportunity had not even then arrived. At length, having succeeded in getting the necessary permission from the Queen our Lady—for there was now no longer any one there to prevent their carrying out the design,—and on the timely arrival of D. Antão de Noronha[3] in India as Viceroy, who

[1] Daughter of Philip I of Austria; Regent of Portugal, A.D. 1557.

[2] Posthumous son of John, King of Portugal, born A.D. 1554.

[3] See *British Museum Add. MS.* 20,902, p. 67; *MS. Sloane* 197, fol. 386, portrait and life.

did all in his power to expedite the business, the removal to Lisbon was carried out, and the remains reached the port on the sixth day of the month of April 1566. They were then taken out of the ship in which they had been brought, and carried to the *Casa da Misericordia*, or House of Mercy, under the directions of Ruy Lourenço de Tavora, *Provedor*, or chief officer, accompanied by a large body of Fidalgoes; and there they remained for several days, the funeral car being draped with cloth of crimson velvet, in charge of many of the clergy, who accompanied the body, and these sang mass daily for his soul, while the order was being drawn up for the removal to the principal chapel of Our Lady of Grace, which his son endowed with a competent rental for the interment of the remains.

When all matters had been put in readiness, on a Sunday, the nineteenth day of the month of May, all the lords and fidalgoes in the court assembled in the *Casa da Misericordia* to accompany the remains; and from that place they set out in procession, preceded by the flag of the Misericordia, and all the brotherhood behind this, the Franciscan friars and the Austin friars, and all the clergy of the city, each one with a torch in his hand; and at the close of the procession the Chapter of the See on the one side, and D. Afonso Anriques, *Adaião*[1] of the king, and all the staff of the chapel on the other side, and behind these the bier on which were the bones, carried by the brethren, covered over with a large pall of cloth of gold; and in front of the coffin went the *provedor*, with his wand in hand, and Afonso Dalboquerque, son of the departed Viceroy, on the one side, clad in a mourning cloak, with bare head, and on the other side André Dalboquerque, his nephew, in similar guise; and behind the bier the Duke of Aveiro and his sons and brothers, and all the rest

[1] The *Adaião* is probably the same as the *Adail*, already described. *See* Glossary.

of the lords and fidalgoes and prelates who were in attendance at the court at the time. The crowd of people was so great that the streets would not hold them, and in this order the procession made its way; and as each church was passed the bells that were being rung redoubled their peals, until at length the chapel of Our Lady of Grace was reached. And in the High Chapel there had been prepared a lofty platform with two tiers of steps, which took up almost all the floor, enclosed on all four sides, set with numberless torches, and draped with many carpetings, and thereon they deposited the coffin in which the bones had been laid, bordered with gold tissue, surrounded with a company of his servants, every one dressed in mourning. And over this coffin were hung three flags of the colours and devices of the three kingdoms which the great Afonso Dalboquerque had gained from the Moors in India. Over these flags floated the royal flag which the king D. Manuel had sent to him, as I have already narrated, now very much torn and ragged, for it had been delivered to him on the sixth day of the month of April, in the year 1506. And thus, sixty years after he had set out on his journey, his bones were at length brought back to the monastery of Our Lady of Grace, of the order of St. Augustine, replete with many victories which he had gained in India under that very symbol of the Cross, in the reign of the king D. Sebastião our lord. And when all was quiet Master Fr. Sebastião Toscano[1] began his preaching, of which I say nothing in these commentaries, not only so as not to increase the bulk of my volume, but also because it is already printed.

[1] See Barbosa Machado, *Bibliotheca Lusitana*, vol. i, p. 702, for an account of Fr. Sebastião Toscano, and the title of the oration here mentioned, which was printed in Lisbon, 1566.

CHAPTER L.

Of the pedigree of this excellent Captain Afonso Dalboquerque, his origin, and parentage, and an account of the way in which he spent his youth, until his first voyage to India.

Inasmuch as I have written an ample discourse, collected from the Chronicles and genealogical works of Portugal and Castile, concerning the genealogy of the Alboquerques, their antiquity, and the origin and derivation of the name, which descends by the direct line of the kings of Portugal, Leon, and Castile, for the information of those who are descended from the family, I will not say here more than is necessary for the understanding briefly whence this great Afonso Dalboquerque is descended, and whose son he was.

It is in this way that the pedigree stands.[1] The King D. Dinis,[2] King of Portugal, had by Dona Aldonsa de Sousa, a court lady of high quality,[3] native of Galicia, a natural son, who was called D. Afonso Sanches, and married Dona Tareja Martinz, granddaughter of the king D. Sancho of Castile,[4] surnamed the Brave, and had with her for her dowry the town called Villa de Conde, in Portugal, and many lands in Castile, and Castle Dalboquerque, which he rebuilt, and laid the foundation of the town below it, surrounding it with a wall, tower, barbican, and moat, and peopled it with Portuguese and Castilian families; and then he took up his abode, and over the principal gateway of the town he placed a shield of his arms, which are here figured.

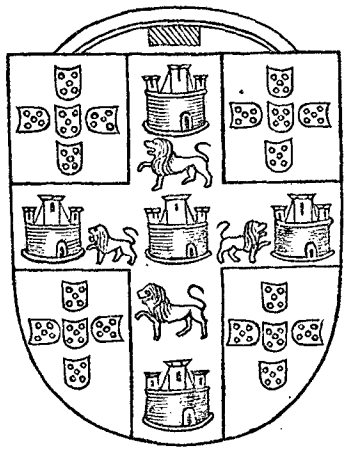
[1] See Appendix for further particulars of the pedigree.

[2] A.D. 1279-1325.

[3] Infansona, for Infançoa, a feminine form of Infanção, a royal page.

[4] Sancho III, A.D. 1157-1158; or Sancho IV, A.D. 1284-1295.

These are the arms that the Alboquerques descended from him ought to bear, and not those which they do bear.[1]



On the same door he put up the following inscription :—

EM NOME DE DEOS SEJA TUDO . AMEN . EU DOM AFONSO SANCHES SENHOR DESTE CASTELLO DALBOQUERQUE COMECEI ESTE LAVOR FERIA QUARTA AOS QUATRO DIAS DO MEZ DE AGOSTO DA ERA DE . 1314 . O QUAL SEJA PERA SERVIÇO DE DEOS E DE SANCTA MARIA SUA MADRE SALVAMENTO DE MINHA HONRA ENDEREÇAMENTO DA MINHA FAZENDA PORQUE AS COUSAS QUE A DEOS SÃO FEITAS TODAS ADIANTE HÃO DE IR . E AS QUE SEM ELLE SÃO TODAS HÃO DE FENECER .

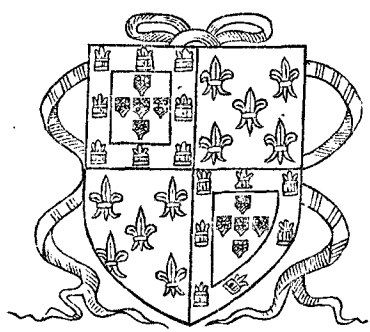
E POREM PRAZA A DIOS QUE HAJA BOA GLORIA O MESTRE PEDREIRO QUE FEZ ESTE CASTELLO.

[1] Viz., those figured on the title-page of this edition of 1774. The arms figured in the text above are a very charming example of the herald's art as practised in Portugal, where the principal and eponymic charges of the ROYAL HOUSES, LEON and CASTILE, are arranged alternately

In God's name be everything. Amen. I, Dom Afonso Sanches, Lord of this Castle Dalboquerque, began this work on Wednesday, the fourth day of the month of August, in the year 1314 *of the* [*Spanish*] *Era*[1] [A.D. 1276] ; *and may it be to the service of God and of Saint Mary His Mother, the salvation of my soul, augmentation of my honour, and improvement of my estate, for all those things which are done to God's glory shall prosper, and all those things which are done without God must perish.*

May it also please God that the Master Mason who built this Castle attain to the glory he merits.

This D. Afonso Sanches Lord Dalboquerque had a son by his wife, named D. João Afonso Dalboquerque, who inherited his estates and became a great lord in Castile, being the first who took this name of Dalboquerque. He built the Castle-keep [*Torre de Menagem*] of Codiceira, and over



on a cross, cantoned with the ROYAL ARMS of PORTUGAL. The arms which are figured on this page, viz., those used by the son of this Afonso, are simply those of PORTUGAL and FRANCE (five fleurs-de-lis in saltire, by error for semé-de-lis).

[1] This Era is calculated from the Conquest of Spain by the Emperor Augustus, B.C. 38. It prevailed in Portugal as late as A.D. 1415, if not later. The fourth of August fell on Tuesday in A.D. 1276. *Era* is, however, occasionally used for *anno*, and may be so used perhaps in this passage. But the day of the week does not correspond.

it placed the shield of his arms, which are represented at the beginning of this book, mingling with the *quinas*[1] of Portugal, the fleurs-de-lis which were borne as the arms of his mother, who was descended from the Royal Family of France, and these the Alboquerques now bear.

From this D. João Afonso descends the great captain Afonso Dalboquerque, who was the second son of Gonçalo Dalboquerque, Lord of Villa Verde, and of Dona Leonor de Menezes, daughter of D. Alvaro Gonçalvez de Ataide, first Count of Atouguia and of the Countess Dona Guiomar de Castro, his wife. When he was quite a lad, he was brought up in the household of D. Afonso the Fifth,[2] and when this king died, he went to Arzila,[3] and after a few years returned to the service of the king Dom João the Second, his son, and held the office of *Estribeiro mór*,[4] chief equerry to the king. When King João died,[5] Afonso Dalboquerque returned to Arzila, accompanied by his brother, who fell fighting against the Moors; and in consequence of this bereavement he returned to Portugal to the service of the king Dom Manuel,[6] and entered the royal body-guard. Then he accompanied the fleet that operated at Taranto, and took part in the capture of Graciosa,[7] and in fact was present in all the military actions that happened in his day in these kingdoms, up to the time of his first voyage to India.

[1] From *quina*, a cinque or quincunx, in reference to the *five* escutcheons in cross, each charged with *five* roundles in saltire, in the shield of arms of PORTUGAL, which are thus blazoned:—*Argent*, five escutcheons in cross *azure*, each charged with as many plates, on a border, *gules*, seven castles, *or*. *See* p. 215.

[2] A.D. 1438-1481.

[3] Arzilla, or Acila, in Morocco, stormed and taken in A.D. 1471, by Alphonso V of Portugal, but retaken by the Moors, and again captured by the Portuguese.

[4] Called *Estaleyro Mor* in vol. i, p. x.

[5] A.D. 1495.

[6] A.D. 1495-1521.

[7] Island of Gratiosa, off the west of Morocco.

Afonso Dalboquerque never married, but he had a natural son,[1] whom he appointed inheritor of all his property, as well as of the services which he had performed towards three kings of these kingdoms; and the king D. Manuel desired—because of the obligation he was under of making a formal acknowledgment of his father's merits—that his name should be changed to that of Afonso Dalboquerque, his father. This son married Dona Maria de Noronha, daughter of the Lord D. Antonio, first Count of Linhares, who was very well disposed towards him, and of the Countess Dona Joanna da Silva, daughter of D. Diogo da Silva, first Count of Portalegre. And after his marriage the king sent him in the fleet of Savoy as captain of a galleon, with the infante, Dona Beatriz, his daughter. And on his return from his voyage, hoping that the king D. Manuel would at length reward him out of satisfaction for the services done by his father, and in accordance with the promises that had been made to his father-in-law, the Count of Linhares, he found him dead, and thus he was left without the recompense that the services of his father richly merited, not only because of the little care his parent took to prosecute his own interests, but also because of the altered aspect of the times.

[1] See vol. i, pp. xlvii-l.

END OF THE COMMENTARIES.

APPENDIX.

A.

TITLE-PAGE, DEDICATORY EPISTLE, AND COLOPHON OF THE FIRST EDITION OF THE COMMENTARIES, FROM THE UNIQUE COPY IN THE SUNDERLAND LIBRARY. SALE NO. 3657.

COMMENTARIOS de Afonso Dalboquerque capitão geral & gouernador da India, collegidos por seu filho Afonso Dalboquerque das proprias cartas que elle escreuia ao muyto poderoso Rey dõ Manuel o primeyro deste nome, em cujo tempo gouernou a India Vam repartidos em quatro partes segũdo os tempos de seus trabalhos.

Com Priv[i]legio Real.

* * * * *

AO SERENISSIMO PRINCIPE | DE PORTUGAL DOM BASTIAM NOSSO SENHOR

Duas rezões principalmẽte antre outras muytas me obrigarão (Serenissino Principe) a copillar esta historia dos grandes feytos Dafonso Dalboquerq' capitã geral & gouernador da India: áqual pus nome Cõmẽtarios, polos colligir dos proprios originães q' elle no meyo dos acõtecimẽtos de seus trabalhos escreuia a el Rey dõ Manuel vosso visauoo, q' nosso Senhor tẽ na sua gloria. A primeyra, pera q' V. A. veja neste pequeno volume, cõ quanto sofrimento & trabalho de sua pessoa este seu capitã conquistou os reynos & senhorios da India (q' V. A. sucederá depois de largos annos de vida del Rey dõ Joam o terceyro nosso senhor vosso auó), & a obrigaçã que tem aos netos & parẽtes daquelles q' nesta conquista acabarã seus dias. A outra foy, ver eu como os q' escreueram a historea da India

(cõ tanto trabalho & louuor de seus engenhos) ou por terẽ hũa occupaçam geral em contar tudo o q' aconteceo aos Portugueses naquelles partes, des o principio de seu descobrimẽto, ou por falta das informações q' teueram, passarã breuemente por muytas cousas q' Afonso Dalboquerq̃ passou nesta conquista. E nam deũe de ter menos credito & authoridade ante A. V. estes seus Cõmentarios polos eu colligir sendo seu filho, do q' Cesar tẽ polo mũdo escreuendo de sy mesmo ha tantos annos. E porq̃ tratar aqui de seus louuores (em q' auia muyto q' dizer) seria fazer outra obra mayor que a sua, nã direy mais q' aquelles q' vão semeados por este liuro, & o q' dizia hum Pero Gomez homẽ antigo na India, o qual sendo já muyto velho (vendo as desordẽs della depois do sua morte) se ya em Goa cõ hum páo na mão á sua sepultura, & dizia. O grande capitão, tu me fizesto quanto mal podeste, mas eu nam te posso negar que foste o mór cometedor & sofredor de trabalhos que ouue no mundo, aleuantate q' se perde o que tu ganhaste. V. A. açeite, de mym este pequeno seruiço q' lhe faço nesta sua primeyra jdade, pois jaa a não tenho palhe poder fazer outros, mayóres. E se o estillo da historea nã fór tam eleganto como sua grandeza merecia, desculpo (*sic*) o atreuimento q' tiueem lha offerecer cõ o pouco q' aprendi da reitorica, & cõ escreuer *ueste* (*for* neste) estillo rudo a verdade do que passou.

* * * * *

Foram jmpressos estes Com- | mentarios Dafonso Dalboquerque capitam geral & go- | uernador da India na cidade de Lixboa, por Joam | de Barreyra jmpressor del Rey nosso senhor. | Acabaranse de jmpremir vespera de sam Se- | bastiã, dezanoue dias de mes de Ianeyro | da era de mil & quinhentos & cinco- | enta & sete annos, em cujo dia | o Principe dõ Bastiam nosso | senhor a quem esta obra | vay offerecida, fez | tres annos. |

B.

PEDIGREE OF AFONSO DALBOQUERQUE,

AND GENEALOGICAL NOTES OF THE FAMILY.

Lansdowne MS. 189, f. 55.

TITULO DOS ALBUQUERQUES SEGUNDO SE ACHA NO LIVRO ANTIGUO DAS LINHAGE'S E CHRONICA D'ELREY DOM DINIS.

§ El-Rey Dom Dinis de Portugal entre os filhos bastardos que teue, houue dous, de hũa Dona Chamada Mor Afonso. § Dom Afonso Sanchez, De que trataremos, e Martim Afonso Chichorro, segundo achamos em hũ liuro das lembranças da torre do tombo, por hũa carta que dise ser tirada dos Registros do año de 1439, E a carta no año de 1450.

§ Dom Afonso Sanchez foy o prinçipal filho bastardo de todos os d'ElRey Dom Din ı, E mais estimado delle, foy Conde, e senhor d'Albuquerque, e de Codiçeyra, e de Villa de Conde e de outras terras, e mordomo mór d'ElRey seu Pay, e a quem o dito Rey quis grande bem, e lhe foy tão affeiçoado, que lhe assacarão, que o queria fazer Rey; E sobre isso, e por amor delle, teue ElRey grandes differenças, e guerras, e arroydos, e mortes de parte a parte, com o Infante seu filho herdeyro, que despois Reyno, e foy Rey Dom Afonso o 4º.=foy cosado com Dona Tareja mỹz filha do Conde Dom João Afonso telo de Meneses senhor d'Albuquerque, Polo qual casamento foy senhor d'Albuquerq' e lhe ficou por appellido de sua linhagem=Da qual Dona Tareja houue Dom João Afonso d'Albuquerque, que disserão o Bom, senhor d'Albuquerque, e de Medelim, e de outras muytas terras.

§ Este Dom Afonso Sanchez, e a Condessa Dona Tareja Mĩz sua molher, fizerão, e dotarão o Mosteyro de Sancta Clara de Villa de Conde; E a pouoa de Dom Martim, e

outros lugares, e muitas Rentas, e lugares, como se ve na Instituição, que fizerão, e ordenarão. O qual mosteyro edificarão no Castello, e Paços de sua morada ; E assy estão sepultados na Capella que chamão dos Senhores, os quaes mudou da Galili, onde d'antes estauão sepultados para esta nobre Capella onde agora estão=Este Dom Afonso Sanchez se foy, e desnaturou para Castella com rreceo da má vontade do Infante seu Irmão Dom Afonso ; De que Portugal ficou perdendo Albuquerque, e Codeseyra, e para sempre ficarão a Castella.

§ Don João Afonso o Bom, Senhor de Albuquerque, a que as Chronicas de Castella chamão o bom de Portugal, filho deste Dom Afonso Sanchez Senhor d'Albuquerque herdou, e foy Senhor da casa de seu Pay. Da parte que tinha em Castella, foy senhor d'Albuquerque, de Melinde, de SeyraZagala, e Alconchel, e outras muytas Villas, terras, e lugares, e foy hũ dos grandes Senhores de Castella em seu tempo. E foy Ayo, e Mordomo mor d'ElRey Dom Pedro o Cru. Este foy o que andou em tempo d'ElRey Dom Pº. com os grandes de Castella, como se ve na dita Chronica, foy casado com Dona Isabel de Meneses filha de Dom Telo de Meneses, que foy filho do Infante Dom Afonso de Molina, e de Dona Maria filha do Infante Dom Manoel Irmão d'ElRey Dom Afonso o Xº., E da Infanta Dona Costança d'Aragão filha d'ElRey, como se mostra no liuro das linhagẽs no titº. 24, § 3º. e no titº. 21, fªs. 57. De que houue Dom Martim Gil d'Albuquerque Adiantado de Murçia, que ElRey Dom Pº. o Cru mandou matar com poçonha, sendo moço, e estando em rrefẽns, como se conta na Chronica do dito Rey de Castella no anno 4º. no capº. 23. folh. 22.

§ E houue bastardos Dom Fernando d'Albuquerque, e a condessa Dona Britis de Albuquerque, molher que foy de Dom Afonso Telo de Meneses Conde de Barcellos Irmão da Raynha Dona Leonor, e filho de Martim Afonso Telo de

Meneses, o que matou ElRey Dom Pº. de Castella em Touro, E a condessa Dona Maria d'Albuquerque molher de Dom Gonçalo telo de Meneses Conde de Neyua, e de Faria, e Senhor de Cantanhede.

§ Dom Fernando Afonso d'Albuquerque filho bastardo de Dom João Afonso o bom Senhor d'Albuquerque, e de Medelim se veo para Portugal, onde foy Mestre de Sanctiago.

Lansdowne MS. 189, f. 581*b*.

TITULO DOS ALBUQUERQ'S DE GOMIDE, QUE AGORA HA EM PORTUGAL.

§ Gᶜº. Lᶜº. de Gomide foy fº. de Nuno Mïz de Gomide natural de Portalegre, e este he o de Portalegre vẽ de dous Irmãos.

§ Foy hũ homẽ mᵗº. honrrado em tempo d'ElRey Dom João o 1º, E seu Escriuão Da Puridade, e mᵗº priuado foy sʳ. de Villa Verde, e outras heranças q' deixou em Morgado, e foy Alcayde Mor d'Obidos. foy casado cõ Jnes Leytoa fª. de Vasco Leytão ou de Gil frõ o fariseu. De q' houue João Gl'z de Gomide, e Mª. Gl'z molher de Lopo da Cunha Veedor do Infante Dom Anrrique fº. do dito Rey Dom João e Dona Isabel Leytoa molher de Ruy Mẽz Cerucyra. O qual Gonçalo Lᶜº. Jaz sepultado no capº. de nossa Sʳª. da Graça de Lsª. E este, ou hũ seu Irmão dizem que fez os Morgados dos Lᶜºˢ. de Miranda, de Guimarães, os quaes trazem por armas hũz gomiz q' trazião os Gomides. E dizẽ q' deixou este seu Morgᵈº. a hũ sobrº. O qual deuia ser Gᶜº. Caldrª. q' foy Escriuão da Camª. d'ElRey Dom João o 1º. E seruia pollo dito Gᶜº. Lᶜº. E este so soube o segredo Da tomada de Cepta, e no dia q' a tomarão chegou este Gᶜº. Lᶜº. com 400. homẽs de sua Libre, e a mor parte de sua Criação e pedio alli a ElRey o fizesse (como fee) caualrº. sendo nisso o primʳº.

§ João Gl'z de Gomide fº. deste Gᶜº. Lᶜº. foy senhor do Morgado de Villa Verde e foy casado com Leonor d'Albu-

querq̃ fª. de Gᶜᵒ. Vaz de Mello o moço Sr. de Castanhrª. e Pouos. De q' houue Gᶜᵒ. d'Albuquerque, e João d'Albuquerque-azeyte, e Pº. d'Albuquerque azeyte, e Lopo d'Albuquerque dos Oliváes, e Dona Isabel molher de Fernão de Sousa Alcayde Mor de Leyria fº. de Diogo Lopez de Sousa o velho Mordomo Mor d'ElRey Dom———.[1]

CAUSA PORQ' OS GOMIDES SE CHAMÃO DE ALBUQUERQUE.

§ Estes se chamão d'Albuquerque polla may q' era neta de Vᶜᵒ. Mïz da Cunha o velho, e de Dona Tareja d'Albuquerque sua molher 2ª. q' foy fª. do Mestre de Stᵗ.tiago Dõ Fernando Aº. d'Albuquerque. O qual foy fº. de Dom João d'Albuquerque, como vereis no titº. dos Albuquerques.

§ Gᶜᵒ. d'Albuquerque fº. de João Gl'z de Gomide foy sr. do Morgado de Villa Verde e foy casado com Dona Leonor de Mñs fª. de Dom Aluʳº. Gl'z d'Atayde 1º. Conde de Atouguia. De q' houue Fernão d'Albuquerque, e Aº. d'Albuquerque, e Aluʳº. Gl'z d'Atayde q' foy clerigo, e Prior de Villa Verde, e Martim Gl'z d'Atayde q' os Mouros matarão em Arzilla, e Dona Costança de Castro, molher de Dom Fernando de Noronha Guouernador q' foy da Exª. Senhora e Dona Isabel d'Albuquerque molher de Pº. da Silva Relle, Alcayde Mor de Porto de Mos, e outras freyras.

§ Fernão d'Albuquerque fº. 1º. deste Gᶜᵒ. d'Albuquerque herdou o Morgᵈº. de seu Pay e foy Vedor do Mestre de Sanctiago Dõ Jorge fº. bastardo d'ElRey Dom João o 2º. foy casado com Dona Cⁿª. da Silva fª. de Diº. da Silva thrº. Mor d'ElRey Dom Aº. o 3º. e Irmão do dito Pº. da Silva Relle. De q' houue Dona Guiomar d'Albuquerque molher de Dom Martº. de Noronha, fº. de Dom Pº. de Noronha Mordomo Mor d'ElRey, Dom Joãa o 2º. e Comen-

[1] Blank in the MS.

dador Mor de S^{t}.tiago, e Dona Joana d'Albuquerque molher de Jorge barreto de Crasto Comendador de Crasto Verde e por este casam^{to}. veo este Morgado de Villa Verde aos Noronhas.

§ O Grande A^{o}. d'Albuquerque f^{o}. deste G^{co}. d'Albuquerque, e Irmão deste Fernão d'Albuquerque, foy Estribr^{o}. Mor d'ElRey Dom João o 2^{o}. Capitão Mor, e Guouernador da India, onde tomou aos Mouros Ormuz, Goa, e Malaca, onde Jaz sepultado. E dahi o mandou.trazer seu f^{o}. E fez outras m^{tas}. Cousas de q' estão os da India cheos, E o Liuro q' de seus feytos compos seu f^{o}. bastardo A^{o}. d'Albuquerque. E não foy casado.

§ A^{o}. d'Albuquerque f^{o}. natural deste grande A^{o}. d'Albuquerque foy casado com Dona M^{a}. de Noronha f^{a}. de Dom Ant^{o}. de N^{ra}. Conde de Linhares. De q' houue Ant^{o}. d'Albuquerque, q' falleceo moço, E Dona Joana d'Albuquerque molher q' foy de Dom Fr^{co}. de Castro o magro Capitão d'Evora e Comendador de ———[1]. E della não houue geração. E casou 2^{o}. vez cõ Dona C^{na}.de Mñs. f^{a}. de Dom M^{el}. de Mñs, q' viue em Almada Camareyro Mor q' foy de s^{r}. Dom Dr^{te}. Condestable de Portugal, e Duque de Guimarães. De q' não houue geracão, e houue bastardo João A^{o}. d'Albuquerque.

§ P^{o}. d'Albuquerque d'alcunha azeite f^{o}. 2^{o}. de João Glz' de Gomide, e Irmão de G^{co}. d'Albuquerque foy casado com Dona Guiomar de S^{t}. Payo fa. de Amadis Vaz de S^{t}. Payo Juiz da Alfandega de Ls^{a}. De q' houue Lopo d'Albuquerque azeyte, e Jorge d'Albuquerque, e Fran^{co}. da Cunha, e Dona Leonor d'Albuquerque Prioressa do Saluador de Lisboa.

§ Lopo d'Albuquerque azeyte f^{o}. 1^{o}. deste P^{o}. d'Albuquerque foy casado com Dona Isabel f^{a}. de P^{o}. Botelho Juiz da Alfandega de Lisboa. De q' houue V^{te}. d'Albuquerque, Dona Joana, e Dona C^{na}. Freyras no Mostr^{o}. do Saluador.

[1] Blank in the MS.

§ V^te^. d'Albuquerque f^o^. deste Lopo d'Albuquerque azeyte andou na India em tp̃o do Grande A^o^. d'Albuquerque.

§ Jorge d'Albuquerque f^o^. 2^o^. de P^o^. d'Albuquerque azeito, e Irmão de Lopo d'Albuquerque foy casado com Dona C^na^. f^a^. de Jan Alz' (Aluarez) da Porta de Mancos de Samtarem dalcunha Rabo d'ovelha hũ homẽ honrrado do Campo. De q' houue P^o^. d'Albuquerque.

§ P^o^. d'Albuquerque f^o^. deste Jorge d'Albuquerque, foy o 1^o^. Capitão d'Ormuz, q' o fez A^o^. d'Albuquerque seu thio. Não casou. E houue bastardo Ant^o^. d'Albuquerq'.

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C.

DESCRIPTION OF LOPO SOAREZ

(Successor of Afonso Dalboquerque).

FROM PEDRO BARRETTO DE RESENDE'S "LIVRO DO ESTADO DA INDIA ORIENTAL".

British Museum, Sloane MS. 197, f. 13*b*.

Lopo Soares de Albergaria filho do Chanseller Mor Rui Gomes daluarengua segundo Gouernador e Treseyro no gouerno do Estado da Jndia: Partio de Lisboa em sette de Abril de mil quinhentos e quinze e chegou a Goa em oyto de Setr^o^. delle auendo tomado Mossambique=Guouernou tres Annos—foy em huma Armada ao Mar Roxo, destrohio Zeyla Çidade de Mouros porq' lhe querião empedir a Agoa e Mantimentos: edificou as fortallezas de Coulã e Collumbo e fes ho Rey tributario—Em seu Tempo se descobrio a Enseada de Bengalla e a Costa de China athe a Çidade de Cantam q' he a prinsipal das provĩsias della por Fernão peres de Andrade tambem se descobrio o Reyno Sião e outras partes do Sul: Leuou de Lisboa para a Yndia hum

Embajxador do presto João q' Afonso De Albuquerq' auia mandado=Acabado o seu gouerno se foy para o Reyno em quinhento e desanoue. As Armadas q' em seu Tempo passarã de portugual ha Jndia se seguem:

ANNO DE 1515. ARMADA 17ª.

TREZE NAOS.

Em sete de Abril do Anno de Mil quinhentos e quinze despedio ElRey Dom Manoel Pera a Jndia huma Armada de Treze naos de q' forã por Capitãis: Sr. Lopo Soares De Albergaria gouernador=Simã da Silueyra filho do Nuno Mĩz da Silura. Sõr do Gois=Dom Guterre de Monrroy filho de Dom Afonso de MonRoy Cauallejro q' foy da Ordem De Alcantara em Castella=Christouã de Tauora filho de Lourenso Pĩz de Tauora Aluaro Telles Barretto filho de João Telles=Franco. de Tauora filho de Po. Lourenso de Tauora sr. do Moguadouro=Dom Joam da Silueyra filho de Dom Martinho da Silura. Jorge de Brito copeyro Mor delRey Dom Manoel filho de Artur de Brito Alcaydo Mor De Beya=Aluaro Baretto de Montemor ho nouo=Simã de Alcasoua filho de Po. de Alcassoua em huma Nao de Mercadores em q' Fernã Peres de Andrade Auia de Ir por Capitão Ao descobrimento da China cõ quem Auião de Ir Jorge Mascarenhas filho de Joã glĩz Montañt=E Joanes Impolle Mercador Aos quais Lopo Soares auia de dar Nauios na India=Dom Aleyxo de Menezes por Capitam mor do Mar da Jndia Anto. Lobo Falcã=e Diogo Mendes de Vasconcellos=Embarcarã nestas naos Mtos. fidalgos e Mil e quinhentos homẽs de gerra chegarã a Goa em oyto de Setro. cõ hos dous Nauios q' ho Anno atras auiã partido em demanda da Ylha de Sam Lourenso destas Naos ficarã Algumas na Jndia seruindo e as mais tomada Carga em Cochim derã a Vella para o Reyno em Janro. do anno de Mil quintos e desaseis e nellas por Capitã Mor Dom Garsia de Noronha em falta de seu Tio. Afonso de Albuquerq'

a quem ElRey mandava Jr nellas pera o Reyno, depois de Entreguar ho gouerno a Lopo Soares: o qual era fallessido.

ANNO DE 1516. ARMADA 18ª.

SEIS NAOS.

Em Vinte e dous de Março do anno de Mil quinhentos e desaseis despedio ElRey Dom Manoel P. A Jndia huma Armada de seis Naos de q' erã capitãis S^r. Joam da Silueyra Capitam Mor q' foy ter a Quilloa cõ hos mastros quebrados=An^to. de Lima q' se perdeo em Sam L^go.= Fransisco de Souza Mansias em Nossa S^ora. da Lus q' se perdeo mas saluou a gente Afonso Lopes da Costa Garsia da Costa seu yrmã=e Diogo de Vnhos A dar auizo da armada do Soldam do Cayro q' estaua em Sues As que nam se perderã forã a India em fim de Out^ro. o Capitam Mor depois de consertar os Mastros foy no Anno seguinte a Yndia=os dous Jrmãos com a[s] suas naos e outras das q' Andauã no seruiso do Estado dos Annos atras Partirã para ho Reyno depois de tomarem Carga em Jan^ro. de mil quinhentos e desasete: e com boa Viagem chegarã a saluamento= Diogo de Vnhos Capitam e pilloto de hum Nauio em q' foy dar Auizo da Armada do Soldam como fica dito: com partir des dias depois das naos teue tam bom tempo e fortuna q' chegou hum mes primeyro q' ellas a Jndia e em breue tempo tornou a Voltar ao Reyno.

ANNO DE 1517. ARMADA 19ª.

OYTO NAOS.

Em noue de Abril do anno de Mil quinhentos e desasete despedio ElRey Dom Manoel pera a Jndia huma Armada de Oyto naos em duas capitanias ou escoadras=Da prim^ra. q' era de seis Naos erã Capitãis S^r. Pin^to. de Saldanha Capitã Mor, em Nossa S^ora. da Serra=Tristam de Menezes filho Bastardo de Dom Rodrigo de Menezes Afonso Enrriques de Sepulueda filho de Fernã de Sepulueda=M^el. de Larserda

em Sanctiago q' hia para Capitam de Calecut Fernã de Alcasoua q' foy o pr°. Veedor da faz^da.=e P°. Correa: ou Coresma pera feytor de Cochim.

E para Malluquo duas Naos e Capitãis dellas erã S^r. Dom Nuno Manoel Capitã Mor=e Rafael Castanho=Esta Armada chegou a Jndia em desasete de Set^ro. o Capitam Mor An^to. de Saldanha ficou nella pera seruir de Capitã Mor do Estreyto de Meca como ja outra Ves ho auia sido na era de mil quinhentos e quatro e as quatro naos q' auiã de voltar depois de yrem tomar carga a Cochim partirã pero ho Reyno em Jan^ro. de mil quin^tos. e desoyto Aonde chegarã a saluam^to. Neste Anno foy a prim^ra. Armada para a China e se leuantou ho prim^ro. Mouro Mallauar cosario a Roubar por mar cõ Nauios.

D.

ACCOUNT OF CURIATE.

British Museum, Sloane MS. 197, f. 115.

DESCRIPSAM DA FORTALLEZA DE CURIATE QUE HE A PRIMEYRA DO ESTREYTO DE ORMUS ANTES DE MASCATE.

A fortalleza de Curiate esta doze legoas Antes de Mascatte p^a. o Cabo de Rosalgate sitta na Costa braua a Borda da Praya Onde nã ha Rio nem enseada nenhuma mais q' hum Ilheo pegado e continuo com a terra q' he som^te. Ilheo em lansar ao Mar hum Outeyro piqueno ho qual em Agoas Vivas fica em nado Neste lugar se abrigã Algumas Embarcasõis de pescadores do Sul e Sudueste porque pera grandes nã ha fundo ao longo delle: Esta neste Ilheo hum Balluarte Couza piquena do tamanho de huma Caza de des passos andantes de prassa Em quadro que se fes pera jugar daquy Artilharia pera ho Campo e Mar: oje nã tem nenhuma= A fortalleza de Curiate em q' fallamos esta aborda da praya

he Em coadro nam Prefeyto senã hum pouco mais comprida q' larga. Tera de Comprim^to^. nos dous Lansos de Muro q' vam da praya pera Terra sinquoenta passos Andantes, e de Largura Trinta. O Muro he de Adobes Como todos os mais da Arabia q' fizerã Mouros como a estes de quatro brasos e mea de Altura e tres palmos de grosura, nã tem parapeytos maīs q' seteyras. Tem quatro Balluartes nos q^tro^. quantos quadrados cõ des passos andantes de Vam cõ seus sobrados e hum delles serue de Viuenda do Capitam portuges q' nelle asiste: E os outros dos Lascarīs q' nesta fortalleza e em outra mais Interior e no Balluarte do Ilheo estã q' são por todos oytenta=hâ mais dentro nesta fortalleza hum Almazem para mantimentos; Outro para Munisõis: hum posso de Agoa sem mais Outra Couza=A fortalleza q' dizemos esta mais Interior desta fica hum tiro De falcã pella terra dentro entre hũs palmares para hos defender he em triangullo, Cada Lanso de Muro de des passos andantes de comprimento tres brasas e mea de Alto: e dous palmos e meio de grosso de Adobes sem parapeytos, e cõ seteyras. Estam duas ponoasõis de Arabios e Balucos pella terra dentro quatroçentos passos distantes huma da Outra de Trezentos Moradores cada hũa pescadores e soldados q' tambem Acodem a defender As terras, Estão sercados cõ seus muros, e Balluartes pera se defenderem: forã estas fortallezas DelRey de Ormus onde elle Asistia depois de se perder Ormus quis Entregallas e por essa Cauza as mandou senhorear Ruy Freyre q' Ja nã pode ser sem gerra. He esta Terra de Coriate fresquissima com muytos palmares q' fazem quazi todo ho gasto de fortallezas, e se proue Mascate de muyta Verdura e Mantimentos=Nã hâ aquy nenhuma Artilharia mais q' Espingardas dos Lascarīs q' bastam pera os da terra e tambem em Auendo Gerra se manda logo Vir de Mascatte:— o gasto q' esta fortalleza fas a sua Mag^de^. he o seguinte:—

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E.

DESCRIPTION OF ORMUS.

British Museum, Sloane MS. 197, f. 157.

Da fortalleza de Ormus nam tratey de fazer descripsão por não ser oỳe do Estado E somente lhe pus aquy a Planta[1] da forma q' era pera memoria, pera q' se algũ Dia D's premitir q' torne a ser do Estado se saber o q' Auia sido, porq' em nosso poder Nam teue Nunqua A Caua aberta de todo como agora tem comessada sỹ : mas como se Nam Cuỳdou q' lhe susedesse Nunqua tal nam tratarã Nunqua de lhe abrir: porq' se lha tiuerã aberta Como o disse Afonso de Albuquerq' puderã dormir seguros Mas a Confiansa dos portuguezes he m^{tas}. vezes Cauza, e seus descuỳdos, dos maos susesos q' ham tido : O persa lhe mandou Abrir a Caua e fazer ponte Leuadissa Com Balluartes na porta e pontes da Caua cõ que estã seguros e sera Nessesario hum serco muy dillatado e sem elle se pode perder a esperansa de se tornar a tomar.

Dista Ormus de Mascate sesenta legoas em Altura de Vinte e sete graos : Tinha ElRey de Ormus nesta Ilha huma Çidade muy populloza Onde Elle Reyñia com hos seus fidalgos : Abitada de Christãos e Mouros q' por todos seriam Oỳto Mil Almas = Era muỳ frequentada de Mercadores, Persios :—Turcos = Arabios :—Mogores = Armenios gentios = Tinha sua Mag^{de}. nella huma Alfandega q' lhe Rendia cada anno duzentos mil pardoas e lhe pudera Render muỳto mais se ouuera ter conta cõ sua fazenda = Era huma dos boas fortallezas q' Auia no Estado, e muy bem Artilhada cõ dous engenhos de poluora e huma Ribeyra de fustas e galleottas pera as Armadas daquelle Estreỳto = Auia na-

[1] See vol. i, p. 112.

quella fortalleza afora a See e a Mizericordia hum Conuento de sancto Agostº. com vinte Rellegiozos = Ha Ilha Piquena. nã tem mais em sỹ de comprido q' huma Legoa: e de Largo hum quarto de legoa nã tem mais em sỹ que sal, enxofre: e sisternas de Agoa da Chuua: e hum Cano de Agoa q' ElRey de Ormus Achou em Tambaque na põta da Ilha q' he muy sallobre: cõ tudo isto era muỳ prouida e abundante de tudo ho nessesario mais q' outra deste Oriente:— De fronte de Ormus na terra firme da Persia na fralda do mar q' era toda DelRey de Ormus estaua a fortalleza do Bandel do Comoram q' mais he huma Caza forte q' fortalleza Onde hiam Parar todas as Cafillas da Persia, de Lara, e outras Partes.

F.

DESCRIPTION OF BASSORA.

British Museum, Sloane MS. 197, f. 161.

DESCRIPSAM DE BASSORA E VIAGẼIS Q' DE MASCATE SE FAZEM A ELLA.

Fasse tambem Viagem de Mascate pera Basora em todo ho anno em a qual vão tomar huma Ilha q' chamão a da Carga q' esta çento e sinquoenta Legoas de Mascate. E nesta Nauegassã se vam sempre Vendo as terra da Persia Prayas, ou Serras, pera se liurarem da forsa dos ventos Noroestes: Nem viuem Na dita Ylha da Carga mais q' pillotos que seruem de Leuar as embarcasõis a Bassora Onde se vaỳ cõ ho prumo na mão athe entrar os Medõis q' he hum parsel de Lama de tres brasas de fundo: Brassos de Rios com que vẽ Ao Mar o Eufrates cõ Alguma distansia hũs dos Outros em q' hos mesmos pillottos se embarassem nam sabendo has vezes por q' Rio vam e susede Irem m^{tos}. vezes seis e sete dias por hum Rio dentro e como nã Vem

huma Balliza q' chamão as Bafras que os sertefica ỳrem Pello Rio de Basora tornão a desandar com o Corrente da Agoa a o Buscar he hâ pillotos tam destros q' Pello Cheỳro da Lama conhessem ho Rio de Bassora pello qual se vaỳ doze Legoas athe a Çidade de Bassora a qual esta situada a borda do Rio cõ hum fortalleza muỳ fermoza e aberto hum Riacho a mão q' A serca q' chamão Sete Larobo dentro do qual se vaỳ estendendo a Çidade m^a. Populloza e grande em Numero de Cazas com algũs quinze mil Vezinhos q' viuem m^to. juntos e pello Campo muỳtas tendas De Arabios das Cabildas da dezerta= He Este Reỳno de Bassora do gram Turco porem O Xa q' hoỳe o gouerna lhe esta aleuantado cõ Elle Vam a Elle pataxos de athe mil candîs porq' ho Rio he muỳto fundo e todas as mais Embarcasõis piquenas athe Terradas: Leuasse pera Bassora ho mesmo que para a Persia e o q' la Val mais he todo o genero de Drogas, e a Roupa mais fina e presioza porq' se tratã todos muỳ custozos e o q' se tira he Muỳta Tamara, Muỳto Alỳofar: e muỳta Ruỳua e toda a fazenda da Persia q' trazem alỳ os persas a vender aos portuguezes: Vem a Bassora grandes Cafillas de Alepo com m^ta. fazenda de Europa de q' se tras grande soma pera a Yndia=A Cafilla q' vaỳ de Mascate pera Bassora nã leua mais ordinariam^te. q' hum soo nauio de Armada q' A gouerne porq' guarda não tem nesesidade por nam passarem La os Enemigos de Europa; e na terra não hos Auer mais q' Niquillas que nam sam de momento pera poderem fazer mal hâs Embarcasõis dos portuguezes q' forem com Vigia=He tam grande a Escalla de Bassora q' si todas quantas Embarcasõis forem darão Carga e acharão Venda porem Ora cõ pouco ora com muỳto ganho: como susede em couzas de Mercansia:—Sam hos Arabios De Bassora diferentes de todos os Outros da Arabia porq' sam muỳ Corpullentos, brãcos, e fracos, e puzillanimes:— Tem ho Baxa quatroçentos homẽs de sua guarda De Espingardas, Achas, e Machadas; Tem dous Mil Agáas q' sam os seus parentes e senhores da terra: Em seis Çentos Vinte

e Noue Vindo o Cam de Xiras sobre elle ayuntou quinze mil homẽs de Armas, porem os mais gente fraquissima E assỹ nam Acabou de tomar Bassora por Morrer o Xa: e a cauza porq' o nam tomara tam de Pressa he porq' Vindo ho Exersito do Xa por terra ha de Vir pella dezerta: e depois ao Longo do Rio por lhe nam faltar Agoa, e quando tornarse ho Turquo trouxer seu C[illegible]mpo ha de Alcansallo no Caminho: e por Mar vindo em Terradas quatro Nauios nossos o podem destroỳr=Sam hos Arabios de Bassora muy dados ao Nefando com terem as Molheres m[to]. formozas posto q' Algum tanto as desfea pera cõ nosco as Arrecadas e ganchos De prata e ouro que trazem nas Narizes, e tambem algũs persas sam tocados deste Visio. He a terra de Bassora fresquissima de todas as fruỳtas de Portugual: e com grande Copia de Vinhos, de Mais e milhores Vuas q' as do Reyno: Trasse de lâ m[ta]. Marmellada pera a India: pellos Marmellos daly serem milhores q' hos da Persia: Estimão tanto a Algallia por ser o cheyro de q' mais vzão: as Molheres q' dam por hum gato de Algallia hum ginette;

Estam pello Rio asima de Bassora tres Ilhas huma dellas muỳto grande de seis legoas de Comprimento e mais de Legoa e Meia de Largura em Paragẽis Abitada de Bidũis Arabios muỳto fresca e chea de muỳta diuersidade de aruores donde vem a maỳor parte da fruỳta a Bassora chamase Quidre: as outras duas sam piquenas huma dellas de hũa legoa quazi, Alagadissima, e como he de Agoa dosse Viuem nella Moradores nos Altos: A outra esta a Vista De Sete Larabo Ilha mais piquena porem fertellissima de tudo ho q' nella se semea de seuada e Arros, e chea de Pumares= A forma da pas q' tem ho Baxa de Bassora Com ho Estado he de toda a boa Amizade, e a guarda muỳ bem, tirado q' as vezes obrigados das semRezõis q' nos lhe fizemos e forsados dellas nos fazem muỳtas Vexasõis: Aỳudamos a este Baxa de Bassora cõ nossa Armada c[tra]. ho persa: Mas he gente tam puzillanime e Coỳtada q' nenhuma satisfassã da

de considerasã ao muyto q' por elles fazem os soldados e Capitãis de sua Mag^de.=A Alfandega de Bassora he a mais fauorauel pera os portuguezes q' outra nenhuma nem nas suas mesmas terras, em tanto q' leuã os Mercadores as fazendas pera sua Caza e La lhe vã abrir os fardos; e depois quando se querem vir vão a alfandega e pagam, E alem do grande fauor na[1] baxado porq' se vender a fazenda Descontã aos Mercadores e lhe dã huma pessa cõforme a contia do q' pagou hâ Alfandega=Temos em Bassora duas Igreiyas huma de Carmellitas, Outra de Agostinhos Exercitando os sacramentos cõ hos portuguezes e mercadores e passageyros de toda a nasã Christãos e cõ hos catiuos destes em q' fazem m^to. seruico a D's pella acolheyta q' tem aquy depois de fogidos pera os Mouros: como vam m^tas. vezes donde forsados cõ alguma nesessidade tornã pera nos achando nestes Padres tudo ho nesessario athe q' hos tornã A Entregar a seus Donos: Estã aquy m^tos. Armenios Christãos q' se sogeytã a estes Padres Cuyas Molheres comungam Cada Domingo muytas dellas=Esta Vezinho a Este Reyno de Basora O Reyno de Bombareca Ja oye sogeito Ao Persa o qual posto q' ho Rey he Mouro os mais doz seus Vassallos sam Christãos de Sam João que seguem a Ley de Christo Nosso Sôr porem com m^tos. Erros e particullarmente porq' ho Bautismo o fazem pello Rio dizendo dizendo[1] quando Lansã a Agoa sobre a Cabessa Eu te bautizo Assy Como Sam João Bautizou a Christo e não tem Missa nem nas nossas terras a Ouuem: Viuem muytos em Bassorâ embayres[1] Apartado dizem q' querem Vir para ho Estado da India obedesser a Igreiya Romana sam muy soberbos com serem todos offissiais de Ouriues Carpentr^os. ferreyros e espadr^os. Sam As Molheres todas Castissimas mas particullarmente As Cazadas. O modo de cazarem he leuaremnos ao Rio despidos da sintura pera sima e pera baixo quando muyto A Molher cõ hum pano branquo muy delgado e singello, e

[1] *Sic*, MS.

juntando os cachassos lhe dam com hum Caỹadinho humas pancadinhas na cabessa cõ pallauras de seremonias e depois estam Ambos deuedidos hum do outro hum mes ao Cabo do qual tempo os tornã a leuar ao Rio Onde lhe dizem Outras pallauras sem se ajuntarem e depois se lhe consede o Aỹuntamto. Carnal: Serão todos trinta mil: ho Rey de Bombareca folga mto. q' se lhe vão de seu Reỹno porq' por serem tantos se teme delles e os despede tomandolhe As Armas= Esta gente escreueo e mandou seus embayxadores Ao Conde do Linhares Vizorrey da India pera q' desse Ordem pera se poderem Vir pera este Estado a qũal elle mandou logo a Mascatte e com ella Veo logo huma pouqua desta gente e parte delles ficarã em hũa das fortallezas do Estreỹto q' ho Conde lhe mandou dar pera elles a pouoarem e Viuerem nella: E a outra passou a India e o Conde os mandou a Çeỹlam e a outras partes do estado pera Verem as terras determinando de hos passar qua todos pera ter gente pera as gerras e Armadas porq' he boa gente de Armas: e sera de prestimo na India=De Bassora ha hum Brasso do Rio q' chamã ho Rio de Catifa q' sem saỹr ao Mar vaỹ dar A esta Çidade q' esta situada ao Longo de hum Riacho q' no fundo he lamarã e neste Lama tẽ de pedra mea Legoa como Ilha: Ao Longo do Mar La fora de Ordinario Carregam e descarregam as Embarcasõis grandes pera Vazias poderem entrar pelo Riacho, e nelle ficarem em seco em sima da dita Lama a Ilha de fora tem hum forte Couza piquena q' se chama Tanora=Catifa esta na Arabia Felix de fronte dos baỹxos de Verde, q' estã ao Sul antes de Basora Mais de oỹtẽta Legoas=He esta Escalla de Catifa mediana de fazendas porq' dous Nauios q' Vam de portuguezes a enchem aonde he so mercador o Baxa e seus dous filhos per onde fica ho trato muỹto Roim e nã ha mercador q' compre duas coriyas de panos saluo estes, ou outros q' vem de fora q' sempre andam atemorizados e escondidos porq' em sabendo tem Alguma Couza Logo lha apanham o Baxa e seus filhos=

As fazendas q' se leuam sam Roupas prettas do Sinde e de Cambaya poucas fazendas e poucas sortes dellas : As que se tirã sam muytos e muy fermozos ginetes os Milhores de Todo Oriente q' nam passa o Milhor de duz^{tas}. Pataquas e daly para baixo muytos athe sinq^{ta}. e sesenta pataquas : muyto e innumerauel Alyofar grosso e meudo quazi todo o de Barem q' Aly passa em Rezam dos pescadores q' ho vam pescar serem destas prayas : Esta hê a sustansia Da fazenda q' Aly se vay buscar em q' se trazem empregados m^{tos}. Mil Cruzados q' por se não poderem leuar todos em fazenda pella terra a nã guastar hos leuam em dinheyro de Pratta de Larîs e Abessis de q' atras fallamos : Tras-se tãobẽ Tamara de q' ha na terra Abundansia mas não tam boa como a de Bassora : fas-se tambem Congo q' he a Tamara tanto q' comessa a picar de Vermelho a tirão e cozem no fogo em grandes Caldeyras de Agoa e depois a Lansã na praya a enxugar nos Areais athe q' fiqua muy dura : e dura m^{to}. tempo desta sorte e se tras a India e se pode Leuar ao Cabo do Mundo he este Congo de Catiffa mais meudo, e mais duro, Vermelho e mais dosse q' ho de Mascate e de mais duro= Ha grandes Cabildas de Arabios pella terra dentro q' he a dezerta onde viuem separados com seus capitãis=Ha huma fortalleza pella terra dentro a q' chamã Lassa de donde saem os prefeitos ginetes de q' sé atras falla : O modo dos Casam^{tos}. dos Naturais da terra a dentro hê deste modo= qualquer homem q' tem filha e he Requerido per Algum mansebo solteyro q' lha de em Cazam^{to}. por molher o pay sae cõ ella Ao Campo Onde a poem em hũa tenda e sae o q' a Requere tambem ao Campo, e se poem em som de Batalha ; e de ordinario tem Competidores q' lhe contradizem ho tal Cazam^{to}. Ou pella quererẽ tãobẽ ou por lhe acharem a elle defeytos E assy se desafiam e se poem em pees sobre Camellos Ligeyros e com seus Cayados nas mãos trauã battalha da qual sae vensedor o que mais forte, ou destro foy ou teue milhor fortuna esse leua a Noyua saluo

ouuer outro q' lhe contradiga porq' ha de venser athe nã ter contradissã E assỹ fica Onrrado e Rico porq' lhe ficão hos despoỳos de todos q' venseo :—O Baxa de Catifa obedesse ao Turco porq' ho he de Nassam, Mas não se fia delle, nem lhe vaỳ pessoalm^te^. obedesser senão manda filho ou quem lhe paresse dar a obediensia.

G.

DESCRIPTION OF SINDE.

British Museum, Sloane MS. 197, f. 167*b*.

NAUEGASÕIS E VIAGẼIS DO SINDE E SUA DESCRIPSAM.

De Mascate se fas Viagem pera O Sinde desde Outobro athe quinze de Março com Ventos Vestes, e Noroestes e Suis: q' sam çento e Trinta Legoas Esta O Sinde na Costa da Persia=A Barra do Rio Indo q' por aquỳ desemboca Ao Mar de Marca ao Nordeste Sudueste por entre hum banco cõ a boca da Barra de fundo de duas brasas e mea de Baxamar e de preamar sinquo e de Largo hum Oỳtauo le Legoa e daquỳ se vaỳ estendendo este banco pera ho Leste athe A Restinga de Doba tam nomeada o parsel sera de tres athe sete Brasas de fundo, tanto q' entra Março he hum Ynferno neste Banco cõ hos trauesõis mas aynda Assỹ se sae da Barra, e entra athe Junho=Tem outra boca este Rio Yndo q' vem a hũas Ilhas q' chamã As Monaras tres legoas da outra para o Noroeste a qual esta oỳe entupida Mas Nã Pera Embarcasõis piquenas—Nem pera surgirem em enseadas as Embarcasõis grandes mas nam pera ỳrem dentro=A causa de se entupir a dita barra foỳ por os portuguezes entrarem por ella a dar hum grande asoute em hũa Çidade mas com Embarcasõis piquenas podem ỳr dentro a fazer Resgate.

Tem ho Rio jndo outro brasso por onde entra no mar oyto legoas do Sinde Pero Ho Leste a q' chamão Daraya. Esta barra esta na cabessa da Restinga de Debâ Tem hum grande Parsel a boca do Rio de mais de tres quartos de Legoa na Entrada de huma brassa e quarto de fundo per onde ho muy dificultozo entrarem embarcasõis saluo forem fustas e essas muyto piquenas porq' he de Area muy Perigozo=Hâ Nauegassã deste Rio pera a Entrada de Cacha e Nagana em Nauios piquenos q' chamã Cotias muy frequente e de proueyto por este se vay tambem ao Reyno do Sinde= O grande e prinsipal de q' tratamos fas seis ou sete voltas q' fazem quatro legoas athe chegar cõ Ban Ar Bandel aonde esta a Alfandega em q' hos nossos Nauios vam Anchorar e Lansar, e tomar Carga: Vam a este porto muytas embarcasõis de toda a costa da India desde a ponta do proprio Sinde athe o Cabo de Comorim; deste Bandel onde hâ hũa Pouoassã muyto grande e estendida e huma fortalleza piquena fraca e cayda, Ao Reyno do Sinde ha doze Legoas de Caminho por terra em q' tem tres Passagẽis de proprio Rio Indo q' em Coracol vim correndo por Estas terras onde hâ muytas Aldeas de considerassão: pello Rio asima se nauega em embarcasõis piquenas q' leuam estas fazendas ao dito Reyno pera La se guastarem. O Reyno he huma Çidade m^to^. grande com mais de çento e sinquoenta mil vezinhos de Cazas meudas de pedra e cal com grandes terrados; mas o ordinario he serem todas de Varichas cubertas de Barro podre amassado cõ palha q' ho fas muy duro: Viuẽ muy juntos q' se ouuerão de Abitar como os portuguezes nem sinquo tanto do campo da dita Çidade lhe bastaria: He gente muy fraca dellicioza, e superstisioza e Mentiroza: Mouros e gentios Viuem todos misturados=Foy o Reyno antigam^te^. de hum Rey gentio, de cuio ospissio e emparo se veo valler o Rey Mogor antigamente e depois pello tempo adiante lhe fez traysã, e tomou ho Reyno cuio oye hê: e por elle he gouernado com seu Nababo Mogor cõ

muỳtos capitãis Mogores e he o Reỳno do Sinde em sỹ tam rico q' vem a elle capitam q' vense de quartel quinze mil pataquas e dalỳ para baỳxo athe oỳto, e quatro: e destes Muỳtos: He hum Cano o Sinde por onde se enche o Reỳno do Mogor de muỳto Alỳofre e perolas de Barem; e de grande Cantidade de ouro e de prata: Muỳtas drogas do Sul: muỳta Tamara, Congo; Cocos; Copre e Algodam q' lhe leuam os portuguezes e as mais nasõis q' la uã: porq' tỳrã somento Roupas; Anil, Asucar: e Anfião:—

A terra he muỳ fertil de mantim^{tos}. Trigo: Arros: gerzollim; Milho; Mango; Seuada, e todas as carnes tirado porco: m^{tos}. Carn^{ros}. e muỳ boñs: Mas nã da ho Reỳno do Sinde Bastante Algodam pera hos m^{tos}. offissiais q' tem: porq' so na Çidade Referida hâ trinta mil Teares, e dahỳ pera sima e assỹ se val do Algodam de Cache e Nagana: E he tam grande o trato desta terra q' a quantos Nauios e Embarcasõis forem a ella a todas dara Carga cõ auer nauio de Portuguezes q' leua em pratta, ouro, e Alỳofre quatroçentos mil pataquas de Cabedal, e destes hâ m^{tos}: E athe da moeda se paga direỳtos cõ grandes tiranias nã Alfandega a tres e meio por çento q' A uallia em dobro e aỳnda mais da Vallia das fazendas. Com q' vem a pagar a sette e mais por çento=Mas como os Mogores q' aquỳ asistem sam muỳ leuados do Interesse cõ qualquer couza se lhe tapa a boca nos grãdes descaminhos q' hos portuguezes lhe fazem do q' leuã=

Vam aquỳ nas Monsõis muỳtas Embarcasõis de portuguezes e sè juntarão em seisc^{tos}. trinta e tres vinte e huma embarcasõis entre galleotas pataxos fustas cõ algũs duzentos portuguezes porq' como pera estas partes, e pera ho estreỳto nã hâ Ladrões Mallauares nem dos naturais, andam cõ muỳ poucos soldados: Tem ha dita Çidade grande do Sinde huma Igreiỳa dos padres Carmelitas descalços muỳ bem ornada e consertada: q' posto q' se nã fassa Christã nenhum natural porq' nenhũ se fas Christã na terra, senã

quando os leuamos fora della porq' entã he muỳ fassỳl, cõ tudo he muỳ grande auxillio p^a. os portuguezes e mais christaõs: porq' viuerã ja e viuem portuguezes cazados na dita Çidade, e de ordinario Jnuernã em quanto se nã fas nauegassã algũs portuguezes em sima e embayxo na qual ỳgreiỳa ha de ordinario dous padres Carmellitas q' se sustentã das Esmollas dos portuguezes cõ q' viuem muỳ bem== e na Era de seis Çentos Trinta e quatro emfadados os Mouros do tanger do sino desta igreiỳa a derrubarã e tomarã tudo ho q' nella auia de ornamentos e mais fabrica: Mas depois tornarã a dar tudo e a fazer a igreiỳa==:—

Como ho dito Rio he muy caudallozo e vay tanto pella terra a dentro Nauegam por ella asima m^tas. embarcasõis de quatroç^tos. Candĩs com todas estas Fazendas pera os Reỳnos do Mogor pondo muỳto tempo a ỳda pellas grandes Correntes, e muỳ pouca a Vinda. He gente esta q' em hum Cazamento de hum gentio gastã quatro e sinquo Mil Rupias: e cada Rupia tem M^a. [*i.e.*, meia] Pataqua; e has vezes quarenta e sinq^ta. mil conforme os cabedais andando em perpetuos Banquetes, e deỳxam perder grandissimos contratos por hũa festa a q' chamã Tamaxa, comendo muỳto e muỳ porcamente e tanto he assỹ q' m^tos. perdem as Mõsõis da Embarcassã e nauegassã por se Darem a suas festas: Vem as ditas embarcasõis do Rio carregados de m^to anil Asuqueres e Jagra e gasta a terra todos os annos mais de des mil Candĩs de Manteỳgaa==:

No bandol de Baỳxo temos onde esta a Alfandega huma Ygreiỳa em q' viuem dous Rellegiozos Agostinhos A quem paga sua Mag^de. mas ho seu sustento prinsipal he das Esmollas dos portuguezes posto q' lhas nam Dam com tanta Largueza, como aos Carmellitas: Viuem Ao Redor da Igreiỳa hos Portuguezes em cazas de Aluger: ondi tambem viuem as Molheres publicas, e hum tiro de falcã pera a Terra dentro esta a pouoassã de Mouros e gentios Todos misturados: Sam aquỳ tratados os Portuguezes muỳto mal com

grandes perrarias de q' elles mesmos sam a Cauza porq' fazem çem mil Asintes, e semRezõis aos Naturais, dandolhe muỳtas pancadas athe chegarem a mattallos de q' tudo se limã Com dinheỳro e athe aos mesmos a quem fazem ho mal, os fazem callar cõ qualquer couza q' lhe dam Porq' he gente muỳ baỳxa e amiga de Interesse=Amarrã hos portuguezes os fardos de Roupa, e mais fazendas em suas cazas a q' vem ver e escriuer os Menistros Mogores: da qual amarrassã lhe passã Lista, e chapão os fardos cõ suas Chapas a q' depois vem hos mesmos amarradores a noỳte, a tornar a encher os fardos de outras sortes de Roupas melhores; e quando pella menham vem tornar a ver as chapas as acham muỳ boas com q' furtã muỳtos direỳtos na Alfandega pellas grandes aualliasõis q' nella lhe fazem q' ordinariam^te^. he mais da a metade.

Tem no Sinde Sua Mag^de^. feỳtor q' serue de Aquiatar todas as Alterasõis, e couzas q' se mouem entre nos, e os Naturais, porq' lhe tem muỳto Respeỳto: Nam tem ordenado da fazenda de Sua Mag^de^. senã humas Liberdades de quarenta por çento q' lhe dam hos Mouros menos do q' leuã aos mais portuguezes e isto so nas suas fazendas: Mas elle adquire muỳtas cõ q' vem a fazer hum ordenado conueniente=Tem Liberdade de poder fazer Vinho q' como he contra A leỳ dos Mouros tem muỳto proueỳto, por lho Virem cõprar de Noỳte =O vinho he de Jagra, e de huma casca de huma Aruore q' chamã Joto: mas o mais de q' Viue o feỳtor he de sua Mercansia e Nauio porem cõ a lỳberdade de feỳtor espanca Mouros, e da em todos e vaỳ gritar em caza do gouernador estando em ỳanta de gouerno: E Ronca q' ha de mandar vir Armada: E assỹ he obedessido=E entrando hum Pataxo Olandes em Jan^ro^. de seisçentos trinta e dous no Sinde com prepozitto de Alỳ fazer Comersio e feỳtoria pera nos tirar dalỳ entrando com muỳtas Drogas e grandes pessas de dattas: Ao q' ho nosso feỳtor encontrou fazendo grandes gritas e couzas e ameasando os Mouros q' logo se sahia dalỳ

cõ todos os portuguezes : E com todos se foy ao Nababo e disse q' era ymposſiuel q' portuguezes e Olandezes asestissem Aly q' visse quais lhe estaua milhor chamando muytos oprobrios aos Olandezes q' elles sofrerã e se pos o feytor cõ ho Nababo em tal estado que pedio o Nababo Ao feytor q' lhe desse firmã pera q' hos portuguezes nã fizessem mal ao dito pataxo dos Olandezes : E contudo Auizou ao Capitam geral Ruy freyre a Mascate : O qual não mandou a Armada sobre elle : porque naquelle Rio estão debayxo da seguransa do Rey Mogor, E seria quebrar ho Porto e dar mao trato aos Mercadores porem os olandezes se foram logo muy enfadados da Ma ospedagem q' lhe fizeram e de ver quam mais estimados aly erão hos portuguezes do q' elles podiam Vir a ser E na Verdade o sõr deste porto do Sinde q' he Asefacã grande priuado do Mogor os estimara aly muyto : Mas ho Nababo de Surratte lhe disse cõ muyta liberdade q' se consentia nelle olandezes, ou Ingrezes Avia de perder logo ho grande comersio de Surratte porq' se lhe auiam La de passar : Ao q' teue o Mogor muyto Respeyto porq' entendeo ser assy Verdade e a esse Resp^to^. os nam acolherão no Sinde.

H.

DESCRIPTION OF CHAUL.

British Museum, Sloane MS. 197, f. 236.

DESCRIPSAM DA FORTALLEZA E ÇIDADE DE CHAUL.

A fortalleza e Çidade de Chaul esta Çita na costa da Terra firme do Reyno do Decam em Altura de Oyto graos e dous terços da Banda do Norte na Entrado de hum Rio de Agoa salgada : Hum quarto de Legoa da boca delle pera dentro posta ha borda da praya da banda esquerda quando se entra toda sercada de Muro com Noue Balluartes e quatro Reuezes

nos mesmos Balluartes os quais estam na forma seguinte= Ho Balluarte Sam Pedro q' cahe sobre ho Rio tem hum Camello de Marca mayor pedreyro q' tira balla de desoyto Liuras—O Balluarte Sancta Crus q' se segue a este nã tem nenhuma Artilharia e esta por entulhar=O Balluarte Sam Paulo q' vay cõtinuando estão (*sic*) bem por entulhar e sem Nenhuma Artilharia=O Balluarte Sanctiago q' se segue a este tem duas pessas s^r^. (*i.e.*, saber) hum Canhão Reforsado q' tira balla de sesenta e sinquo Liuras=e hum Camello q' tira desaseis de pillouro de pedra=Tem hum Reues este Balluarte aonde esta huma pessa de ferro=No Balluarte q' esta De fronte de Sam Paulo esta hũa pessa de Bronze por dentro ferrada de ferro Collebrina Joga desaseis Libras de balla= Este Balluarte tem dous Reuezes hum tira para ho Balluarte Sanctiago cõ duas bombardeyras em huma dellas esta huma pessa de bronze=O Balluarte Sam Denis q' se vay segindo a este nã tem nenhuma Artilharia: No Reues q' tem q' cae pera a prayа esta hum Pedreyro de ferro de Catorze Liuras =O Balluarte Sam Franco. q' fica sobre o mar pera A Costa braua tem tres pessas de Metal. S^r^. huma Aguia q' tira quarenta Liuras De Balla: hum Canhão Reforsado q' tira sinq^ta^. Liuras: hum Leão q' tira outras sinq^ta^. todas de Pillouro de ferro=O Balluarte Sam Domingos q' se vay seguindo a este nã tem pessa Alguma=O Balluarte q' esta sobre a porta dos Cazados tem hum Canhã de Metal que joga balla de Vinte e quatro Liuras de ferro=No Cais junto ha see estão duas pessas de Metal, huma he Canhão de catorze Liuras de pillouro, e a outra da mesma forma=Toda esta Artilharia q' sam·treze pessas estão em seus Repayros: porem bẽ claro se vee quam falta esteya esta Çidade de Artilharia estando m^tos^. Balluartes e Reuezes sem ella e auendo tambem mister os q' A tem alguma Mais :=:—

A Altura destes Muros hê muy Varia porq' pella banda de terra pella m^ta^. gerra q' por ella costuma ter são muyto mais Alto q' pella do Mar e Rio: e assy tem quatro Brassas

e m^{a}: athe sinquo: de des palmos Cada brassa e pella do mar e Rio tres brassas athe tres e m^{a}: cõ seus parapeẏtos de sinquo athe seis e sete palmos: A grossura destes Muros hê des palmos na Rais e vem Acabar em seis: Nam tem entulho nenhum pella banda de dentro, nem Caua pella de fora porq' nesta Çidade sam hos Arrabaldes m^{to}. largos e quando ha gerra se defendem todos=Os Balluartes sam de diferentes formas e não estam aẏuda prefeẏtos nem no Entulho nem na Altura Cuẏas obras estam Remetidas por ordem de sua Mag^{de}. Aos padres da Companhia=O Capitam Viue dentro dos Muros em huma serca de Ladrilho como a de Bassaẏm aonde esta o Tronquo=A gente q' mora dos Muros a dentro desta Çidade sam duzentos Cazados portuguezes em Cazas muẏ boas todas de pedra e Cal: e sinq^{ta}. pretos Christãos da Terra q' hũs e outros tem cada hum seu Escrauo que possa tomar Armas q' são as prinsipais espingardas e toda a mais sorte dellas. E a cauza de serem os Escrauos tam poucos he por fogirem todos pera a Terra firme dos Mouros=E Viuem alem destes nos Arrabaldes Referidos e em muẏtos palmares e ortas dos portuguezes q' estão pouqua distansia da Çidade e quazi debaẏxo da Artilharia de seus Muros quinhentos homẽs cazados pretos Christãos e Gentios, e os mais delles offissiaẏs de offissios mecanicos, e athe os chaudarĩs q' sam os q' sobem hâs palmeẏras a Colher os Cocos e fruẏto delles nos seruirã ja na gerra cõtra os mesmos Mouros naturais, e senhores da Terra=

Ha nesta Çidade dous almazẽis hum de sua Mag^{de}. outro da Çidade os quais estam prouidos Bastantemente de poluora e Monisõis e petrechos pera qualquer ocasiã de gerra athe se prover de Goa: como sam todas as fortallezas e Çidades do estado nas gerras e couzas extra Ordinarias=Ha nesta Çidade de Chaul dos Muros a dentro seis Igreiẏas. S[abe]r. A see:=Mizericordia=Sam Paulo q' he Conuẽto dos Padres da Companhia=Hum Most^{ro}. de Sam Domingos=Outro de Sam Fran^{co}.=outro de Sancto Agostinho os quais sustenta

Sua Mag^de. pagando a Cadahum e ao Capitam e mais offisiais o q' se Vera nas cõtas adiante=A barra desta Çidade de Chaul he a mais Bem guardada q' hâ neste Estado pella Courasa do Morro q' Atras dissemos fica sobre ella Com q' nam pode entrar nem saỳr nenhuma couza senã por baỳxo das pessas da misma Courassa. Tem a barra hum Banco de Area q' a atrauessa pello M^o. do qual fica o Canal q' demora ao sueste de baỳxamar nã tem fundo mais q' oỳto, e noue palmos: e em agoas Viuas tem tres brassas=E em entrando da barra pera dentro fica ho Rio mas largo e cõ fundo bastante pera Estarem nelle m^tas. Embarcasõis sem auer couza q' lhe fassa dano=A Costa desta fortalleza Corre Ao mesmo Rumo q' a de Damã de Norte a Sul mais alguma couza para o Sueste=As Correntes sam tambem as mesmas tirado q' como fica mais afastado Da Enseada de Cambaỳa não sam as Mares cõ tanta furia como as q' temos Referido= E as Monsõis de Ventos sam tambem as mesmas=

As Viagẽis q' se fazem deste porto de Chaul sam m^tas. e pera m^tas. partes porq' como Estes Moradores nam tem fazendas de q' possam viuer, Como os de Damã e Bassaym dãose mais hà mercansia: E viuem puram^te. do trato e Nauegassam=Fasse Viagem de Chaul pera Cambaỳa em Nauios de Remo: e posto q' podem Ir e Vir em Todo ho Tempo não Andão senã em Cafillas em Companhia da Armada q' lhe da guarda a Respeỳto dos m^tos. paros de q' Aquella Costa anda sempre chea pello Verão: E assỹ nam fazem mais q' Duas Viagẽis em Verão: Ho q' leuã sam ao maỳor parte Cocos, Areca, Canilha, Pimenta, e todas as mais Drogas do Sul: Crauo, Nos Masta; e tambem as do China como Pao, Lousa, Tutunaga, o q' trazem sã Roupas, Anfiam, e Anil=Fasse tambem Viagem de Chaul pera Mascate e dalỳ pera Bassora; Leuando ho prinsipal Arros, e Roupas de Cambaỳa Cocos e Copra q' sã hos mesmos cocos passados ao Sol: de q' se Vza m^to. neste Oriente, e o mais q' atras fica Referido=A jornada he nos tempos q'

temos apontado nas descripsõis de Damã E Bassayṁ As embarcasõis sam pataxos e galleotas: o q' se tras de la tãobem fica ja atras Referido=Nauegasse tambem de Chaul pera Mossambique pera onde vayṁ hos mais dos Annos hum pataxo cõ Lisensa do dono da Viagem em Janeyṙo athe os prim^ros^. de Feu^ro^.=Leua Roupas de Cambayṁa das q' seruẽ pera os Cafres q' são Canequĩs pretos a q' chamão Serqueyṙa e muyṫa contaria q' lhe vem de Ballagatte q' sao hũas Continhas de Vidro q' costumã trazer os Cafres em q' hâ m^to^. grande ganho por cuyo Resp^to^. he Esta Viagem so do Capitam; ho q' de la se tras he Marfim, Ouro, e Cafres=Vam tambem embarcasõis de Chaul pera Manilla e Chyna leuão pera a China algumas Roupas de Cambayṁa e de Norte como Canequĩs e Teadas e algũas couzas de Mascatte como amendoas passas de Vuaâs, Ensenso; pucho q' he hum pao q' vem de Cambayṁa e serue pera Lâ=e o mesmo pera Manilla Acresentando Muyṫas farinhas de trigo, Anchoras, e ferro: de q' ja se dise q' em Chaul auia Muyṫo q' lhe vinha da terra adentro do Ballagate de q' tambem se fazem falcõis de ferro Batido: partem pera Estas Viagẽis desde fim de Março athe todo Mayo=He este ferro de Chaul alguntanto grosso e assỹ ho mais pera q' serue he pera Estas obras grossas de Anchoras e falcõis: não deyxando tã bem de seruir pera pregadura. Chaul de sima q' dizemos paga Vinte mil Larĩs de pareas he hũa pouoassã de Mouros q' esta hum quarto de Legoa da nossa Çidade pera a banda de Leste q' he a do Sertão em q' viuẽ m^tos^. offisiais Tessilõis de sedas q' se fazem na dita pouoassã de toda sorte e Marseneyṙos de obras de Escritorios e Marchetaria de q' tãobem hâ m^ta^. abundãsia e outros offissiais e tãobem hâ m^tos^. Mouros de gerra e sera a dita pouoasã de tres mil Vezinhos mas sem Muro nem fortalleza alguma.

I.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FORTRESS OF ONOR.

British Museum, Sloane MS. 197, f. 285.

DESCRIPSAM DA FORTALLEZA DE ONOR.

A fortalleza de Onor Esta na terra firme do Concani do Ballagatte desoyto legoas de Goa para o sul Em Altura de Catorze graos e vinte e noue Minutos foy conquistada e feyta pello Vizorrey Dom Luis d'Atayde que depois foy Conde da Atouguia, No Anno de quinhentos sesenta e oyto=Esta plantada esta fortalleza hum quarto de Legoa da Barra de hum Rio de Agoa salgada q' Vem sayr ao Mar, em Syma de huma Rocha toda sercada do Muro de tres Brassas de Altura e quatro palmos de Largura cõ seus parapeytos: Tem em Roda quatro çtas. Brassas: dentro dos quais Muros fica a pouoassã dos Cazados e Moradores q' sam Trinta Branquos=Tem esta Pouoassã e Muros Onze Balluartes em Roda feytos em forma Redonda e são estes Balluartes por sima cubertos de Telha em hos quais estã Repartidas quatro pessas de Artilharia Tres de Bronze e hũa de ferro—Huma de doze e outra de des e outra de seis liuras de Pillouro de ferro: e hum Camello pedreyro de desoyto Libras de pillouro de pedra=Tem mais oyto falcõis=dous Bersos, e hum Canhão tudo de Metal: que para a copia dos ditos Balluartes e grandeza delles paresse Couza Muy desconforme porem como esta preuensã não foy feyta pera os Enemigos de Europa de q' oye mais nos tememos, ouueram que bastaua para os da Terra: hum dos ditos Balluartes he Caualleyro a todos os outros=He esta fortalleza de Onor muy fresca sadia e de Bons Ares, e tem muyto boas Agoas de Maneyra q' se tem pella melhor nestas Couzas q' hâ neste Estado porq' dos Muros a dentro tem os Cazados Napulle piqueno destrito muytas ortas em suas Cazas q' lhe dam Muy boas Vuas e fruyta de Espinho exsellente=Não ha Alfan-

dega em Onor porq' nam tem nenhũ Comersio, e so viuem aquelles Cazados dos quarteis de Sua Mag^de. e de Algumas Terras De Arros q' semeão fora dos Muros: e Palmares q' tem: porq' A terra como fica dito he muy fertil: e so lhe Vem de fora algumas gundras das Ilhas de Maldiua com Caurim cayro, e Cocos: Tirase desta fortalleza e suas terras algum Arros: m^to. menos q' de nenhuma outra fortalleza do Canara, alguma madeyra de Mastros e Vergas de q' Abunda o Mato da Terra dentro mas cõ Lisensa do Rey della sobre q' nam deyxa de auer algũs incõuenientes, Alguma Aleca e Cato e Algumas Beatilhas q' se fazem pella Terra dentro=o q' mais se tira desta fortalleza e Terras Vezinhas he m^ta. pimenta a melhor q' hâ na Iudia q' se compra por Contrato a o Rey da Terra o qual he de Nassão gentio chamado o Rey do Equery, ou Canara como se yntitulla Esta provinsia de q' he sõr e por Nome proprio Vira Bador nayque o qual todos os Reynos de q' he sõr na dita prouinsia ordou ha seis annos de seu Avoo Vintapa nayque q' hâ trinta e dous Annos as cõquistou Desde o Rio de Merizeu athe o Caulharotto q' sam trinta e seis Legoas de Costa tomando os aos Reys cuyos erão e os tizouros fazendolhe m^tas. Tiranias com q' tinha ayuntado grandissimas Riquezas=E hã seis annos q' por morte de seu Auo se lhe leuantarã Todos os Ditos Reis com quem tiue m^tas. Batalhas e Encõtros ora de perda ora de ganho athe q' hũ seu Tio foy leuantado por Rey chamado Virapa nayque o qual estando ja em posse do Reyno Morreo em breue dizem q' por negoseasã deste Virabadar nayque o qual tornando a tomar posse do Reyno foy conquistando seus Enemigos athe q' hâ dous Annos os acabou de Venser e fazer se sõr de tudo o q' lhe deyxou seu Auô=Tem o estado asentado pas cõ Este Rey de amigo de Amigos, e enemigo de Enemigos e que todos os seus portos nos serã muy franquos para Tirarmos delles Todo o mantimento q' ouuer por q' hos do Canara sam donde vem Todo o Arros q' sustenta Esta Çidade de Goa e

seus Contornos : porem Como Este Reỳ esta muỳ soberbo pellas grandes Vitorias q' tem alcansado nam guarda isto como esta obrigado particullarmente pella fortalleza q' ho Conde de Linhares Vizorreỳ fes a seu pezar Na Ilha do Cambollim=

O poder q' Este Reỳ tem oỳe he de quarenta pera sinq^{ta}. Mil homẽs Canaras q' se tem por huma das Milhores gentes de Armas q' hâ neste Estado, e Raramente Tiuemos gerra cõ Elles q' leuassemos o Milhor=Mas nã sam traỳdores para de Baỳxo de fee e pallaura de pas fazerem a sua : como alguñs Naturais deste Oriente=A leỳ q' professã he gentillica como ho seu Reỳ de q' hâ Muỳta diuersidade, e sam Raros os q' se conuertem a Nossa sancta fee Cathollica e assỹ Nenhuma Igreiỳa Temos em suas Terras nem ho Reỳ se entende as consentira=Nã se sabe q' este Reỳ tenha athegora comersio nem Commonicassã cõ nassã Alguma Estrangeỳra fora dos portuguezes, q' Como Vassallo do Idalcam e q' lhe paga pareas : paresse q' ho Imita nisto : posto q' nam sabemos ser athegora cometido cõ a dita Comonicasã=A Barra desta fortalleza de Onor he de hum Rio de Agoa salgada q' vaỳ m^{to}. pella Terra dentro atrauesa a pello meo hum Banco de Area como a todas as deste Estado pello m^{o}. Do qual tem Hum Canal de sinquo Brassas de largo, e doze athe quinze palmos de fundo por onde nam podem entrar por elle embarcasõis q' ho demandem maỳor senão em Ocazião de Agoas viuas : e dentro no Rio hâ fundo de Vinte e sinquo athe trinta palmos. Nã hâ nesta Costa mais Correntes, Ventos, e Monsõis q' hos q' temos dito no prinsipio della, de Terrenhos e Virasõis : Corre o mesmo Rumo de Norte a Sul metendo alguma couza pera ho sudneste e Noroeste=Tem esta fortalleza de Onor Offissiais e presidio q' se vera abaỳxo e o q' se lhe paga de prezente e o q' se lhe pagaua antigam^{te}. q' he ho seguinte=

* * *

J.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MALDIVE ISLANDS.

British Museum, Sloane MS. 197, f. 377.

A Planta que se segue he das Ilhas de Maldiua Vaẏ aquẏ como Outras Muẏtas q' não sam do Estado. Escriuem Muẏtos Autores q' e huma Corda de Onze mil Ilhas Intitullase Reẏ dellas hum Dom Phellipe q' asiste em Goa Mas nellas Reẏna Outro Gentio q' dizem se leuantou ha Muẏto cõ ho Reẏno em tempo do Auo Ou Paẏ deste Dom Phellipe e goza o senhorio dellas sendo q' Aÿda Vem ao dito Dom Fellipe alguma Couza posto q' Pouqua do Rendim^to^. de Algumas E a sua Iñstansia e pedimento foẏ de Portugal Ordem Ao Conde de Liuhares sendo Vizorreẏ Da India pera q' Mandasse huma Armada has ditas Ilhas=E o dito Vizorreẏ Mandou-Em Abril de '631: ho Capitam Mor. da Armada do Canara Domingos Ferreẏra Belliago cõ hũa Armada de quinze Navios o qual foẏ em demanda da prinsipal das Ilhas aonde o Reẏ Abita q' Esta leuantado cõ Ellas: Mas Elle foẏ auizado da ẏda da Armada e quando ella chegou estaua Muẏ bem forteficado: e hũa so entrada q' há pera a dita ẏlha estaua tapada cõ nauios cheos de pedras de forma q' era empossiuel entrar por ella e m^to^. mais ẏmpossiuel entrar por outra nenhuma parte por ser Toda sercada de Rochedo e arresifes como da planta se pode Ver E o modo Em q' Estaua forteficada: e depois de a dita Armada estar Algũs dias sobre ella jugando as bombardadas Vindo q' era ẏmpossiuel podella entrar e q' era Tempo perdido Todo ho q' Alẏ gastasse se Volto para Goa Trazendo esta planta q' Eu lhe auia pedido me Trouxesse q' Pus aquẏ da mesma forma:—

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